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Willem J. Aerts

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PREFACE

On 30 June 1990 Willem Johannes Aerts completed his long service at the University of Groningen, which had begun nearly twenty-three years earlier with his appointment as 'lector' (later Professor) in Medieval and Modern Greek in 1967. Together with Mrs L. van Dijk-Wittop Koning, lecturer in Modern Greek since 1965, he organized the Medieval and Modern Greek Section as part of the Department of Classical Studies, a parallel to the Section of Medieval Latin started at about the same time by Prof. L.J. Engels. In 1982, after the establishment of an independent Chair in Medieval and Modern Greek, Wim Aerts presided over the introduction of the Honours Degree in Modern Greek Language and Literature, with its alternative degree course in Medieval Greek Language and Literature and Byzantine Studies. Previously, Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies had been mere options in a Combined Honours Degree.

Aerts read classics at the University of Amsterdam, where he graduated in 1951. From 1955 until 1967 he taught at several grammar schools, including the Fons Vitae Grammar School in Amsterdam. In the same period he wrote his thesis under the supervision of G.H. Blanken who had been appointed to the Chair of Medieval and Modern Greek literature at Amsterdam, as successor to Prof. Antoniadès. In this way Aerts entered the tradition of Medieval and Modern Greek studies in the Netherlands, which had been started by D.C. Hesselink early in this century.

Given his classical background it is not surprising that Aerts in his thesis dealt with the Greek language in its full historical dimensions, i.e. with the development of the Modern Greek language out of Classical Greek through Koine and other intermediate stages, as is clearly expressed in the title: *Periphrastica: an investigation into the use of εἶναι and ἔχειν as auxiliaries or pseudo-auxiliaries in Greek from Homer up to the present day* (Amsterdam 1965).

The Modern Greek Dialects are an important source for our knowledge of the linguistic development of Modern Greek from Classical Greek. In these dialects we can distinguish many varieties of linguistic change, some of which go further than those which have formed the common language, while others reflect stages of development which standard Greek has passed. Aerts's interest in dialectic characteristics, already present in his thesis, manifested itself in several publications on Tsakonic, Cypriot or Southern-Italian Greek. His edition of a lexicon exclusively based on the *Chronicle of the Morea*, a vast project intended for completion after his retirement, is also of great importance for the study of the development of Modern Greek.

His chronological survey of Byzantine literature, forthcoming in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft* (25. Teil: Spätantike), reveals a further dimension of his scholarship. His interest in literature, moreover, extends — in his articles on Symeon Salos, the Holy Fool of Emesa — to an appreciable engagement with history.

As a Byzantinist, Aerts naturally shared many of the interests of other medievalists. Cooperation in the wide field of Medieval Studies at Groningen has been coordinated since the early seventies in a variety of ways. Aerts's contribution was mainly to interdisciplinary research into the literary references to Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages. For several years he was moderator of the well-known Groningen workshop on Alexander.

Another way in which he enriched Groningen medievalist culture was by his patient preparation of critical editions. At the suggestion of the late Prof. H.J. Scheltema, Aerts provided the *editio princeps* of the *Historia Syntomos* of Michael Psellos, published in the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* at Berlin (1990). In close consultation with his Groningen colleagues G.J. Reinink and G.A.A. Kortekaas, he furthermore embarked on the re-edition of the Greek version of *Pseudo-Methodius*, a seventh-century apocalypse also preserved in Syriac and Latin; this great work of cooperative philology is now reaching completion.

Aerts made a habit of translating the original Greek texts into Dutch in order to enliven and illustrate his lectures. He stimulated and coordinated the translation of Greek texts by student work-groups. One such collective effort resulted in the publication of *Het Leven van Symeon de Dwaas* (The Life of Symeon the Fool), an unusual hagiography by Leontios of Neapolis; another was devoted to the Life of Saint John the Almsgiver by the same Leontios, the translation of which is now reaching completion. His Dutch translation of Yannis Ritsos's 'Η κυρά τῶν ἀμπελιῶν (Groningen 1989) received the distinction of the Greek translators' award in Athens (January 1990). A short time later there followed the translation (in cooperation with H. Hokwerda and H. Schoonhoven) of some hymns by Romanos Melodos, including the uncertainly attributed Akathistos hymn (*Vier Byzantijnse hymnen en de Akathistoshymne*). It is to be hoped that he will yet publish the many translated texts gathering dust in a drawer of his writing desk.

Aerts often disagreed with the education policy of the government when it was unfavourable to the humanities. The otherwise so eirenic Aerts then showed himself a fervent advocate of classical education and denounced this government

policy passionately, in letters to newspapers and in other ways. The same anxiety found expression in his letters to the Faculty Board and other governing bodies, which perhaps were not always appreciated by all concerned, in spite of their high epistolary quality.

The breadth and variety of his activities as a scholar are reflected in the contributions to this volume. The authors were asked to contribute articles related to Aerts's Byzantine interests. This means that the emphasis lies on Byzantine and Medieval Greek studies, but the various specialisms of the contributors have resulted in a diverse selection of essays.

The editors regret that the foremost of Aerts's interests, the composition and performance of music, is not reflected in the contents of this volume. We have tried to compensate for this, however, in our choice of title: **POLYPHONIA BYZANTINA**. Byzantine musicologists will perhaps frown upon this coinage and inform us that no such thing as Byzantine polyphony existed. We hope nonetheless that our Byzantine polyphony will result in a harmonious composition and, in this way, will recall one of Aerts's most admirable characteristics, his attunement to the wave-length of his various colleagues and his efforts to create harmony.

Aerts chose to end his contract eight months early, on 30 June 1990; however, when he retired formally on 27 November 1990, with a valedictory lecture on *Eros in Byzantium*, the list of contents of this volume was offered to Aerts symbolically on that occasion.

We should like to express our gratitude to Prof. A.A. MacDonald, Margaret Kofod and Andrew N. Palmer for correcting the English of some of the contributions, to Prof. S.L. Radt and Prof. W. Noomen for doing the same for the German and French contributions, and to Ms M. Becking, Mrs Norry Horlings, Ms Corrie van Os, Mrs A. Reinink, and Ms S. van der War who spent much time in word-processing the essays, to the editorial board of *Mediaevalia Groningana* for giving us the opportunity to publish this volume in that series, and to all Aerts's colleagues and friends for their contributions. We are particularly grateful to Carin Nieuwenhout, who drew the portrait of Aerts, which is reproduced on the front page of this volume. Last but not least, Mrs Laura Aerts, who accompanied Wim to so many lectures and congresses abroad throughout his life, receives our especial thanks for the assistance she offered whenever it was necessary.

After this Preface had been written, the Faculty of Arts at Groningen received the shocking news of the sudden death, on 19 May 1992, of Dr Edmé R. Smits, one of the editors of this volume. The pleasant collaboration in preparing this volume will always remain one of my happy memories. From September 1992 the task of co-editing was taken over by Marinus M. Woesthuis. (H.H.)

The accentuation of Greek words, titles etc. is in accordance with the preference of the author for either the traditional system or for the one-accent system introduced in Greece in 1982.

THANKS TO ARISTAENETUS...

Annette Harder

1 Introduction

Thanks to Aristaenetus our knowledge of two *aitia* from the third book of Callimachus's *Aetia* are better known to us than they would have been without him. In this article I want to discuss a few passages in Aristaenetus which seem to yield yet a little more information about Callimachus's poems.

Aristaenetus was an epistolographer, dated in the late fifth / early sixth century AD¹, about whom little is known. Even his name is disputed.² His 'love letters' are characterized by a great deal of paraphrasis and quotation from earlier authors, especially Plato, Lucian, Alciphron, Philostratus and the Greek novel: "like a jackdaw fascinated by garish baubles Aristaenetus purloined vivid phrases from a host of earlier writers."³ To scholars who concern themselves with Hellenistic poetry he is especially known because of two letters, *Ep.* 1, 10 and 1, 15, in which he is giving an extensive summary of two stories from Callimachus's *Aetia*. These letters have long been used as a source for our knowledge of these *aitia*, but only during the last century has it become possible to verify our conclusions with the help of papyrus-fragments of the same *aitia*. It has emerged that Aristaenetus is following Callimachus very closely, but that there are also important differences. This means that, although we are fully justified in using

1 The most recent edition of Aristaenetus is Mazal 1971 (for criticisms and supplements to the apparatus of sources and parallels see the review by Arnott 1974). For an edition with German translation and a long introduction see Lesky 1951. For Aristaenetus's date see Mazal 1977 (in the third decade of the sixth century AD).

2 Cf. Lesky 1951, 8ff.; Arnott 1982. The latter rightly rejects Lesky's defence of the name, but for the sake of convenience I shall go on calling the author of the letters Aristaenetus.

3 So Arnott 1968a, 119, who also offers a reappraisal of some passages of Aristaenetus.

Aristaenetus in an attempt to increase our knowledge of Callimachus's *Aetia*, we also have to be very careful.

The relevant *aitia* are the story of Acontius and Cydippe (fr.67-75⁴ > Aristaen.1,10) and the story of Phrygius and Pieria (fr.80-83 > Aristaen.1,15). The first story, which I shall deal with in this paper, is as follows: a young man from Ceos, Acontius, falls in love at first sight with Cydippe of Naxos at a festival at Delos. Near the temple of Artemis he throws an apple to her which contains the inscription: "I swear by Artemis that I shall marry Acontius." Cydippe reads this aloud and thereby binds herself by oath to marry Acontius. When her father tries to arrange a marriage for her with somebody else she falls ill just before the wedding-day. This happens three times and then the oracle of Apollo is consulted, which explains that Cydippe must marry Acontius. This then happens. In Callimachus the story is interspersed with a number of learned digressions, concerning e.g. a wedding ritual at Naxos, Artemis's possible whereabouts (in the speech of Apollo), matters of Cean history, and the historical source of the story, the author Xenomedes of Ceos.⁵ It was guessed long ago that Aristaenetus offered a kind of paraphrase of Callimachus's story of Acontius and Cydippe and this is now confirmed by the papyrus-fragments.⁶

I shall first give (a) some examples of passages where Aristaenetus is following Callimachus very closely, then also (b) certain others where it would be misleading to suppose that he used Callimachus as a direct source. After this I shall discuss (c) some passages that may be based closely on Callimachus.⁷

First of all, passages where Aristaenetus closely follows the outline of Callimachus's stories. When we compare the remains of the summary of the story of Acontius and Cydippe in *Dieg. Z* 1ff. (p.71 Pfeiffer) and the last part of the story which is preserved in fr.75 we can see that this corresponds closely to Aristaen.1,10,28ff. (about the apple) and 81ff. (about Cydippe) respectively. There are also a great number of details of phrasing and narrative technique in which Aristaenetus is clearly following Callimachus.⁸

On the other hand Aristaenetus sometimes changes a motif or adds embellishments or other extensions of his own,⁹ whereas on other occasions he leaves

out details which are of antiquarian interest — as at the end of the story of Acontius and Cydippe, where Callimachus mentions the rule of the Acontiads in Ioulis (fr.75,50ff.) and offers a summary of his source, whereas Aristaenetus adds some (highly derivative) remarks of his own (1,10,111ff.).

When we are able to compare the language and vocabulary of Aristaenetus with that of Callimachus it becomes clear that Aristaenetus's diction, although containing certain poetic elements, is that of a late prose author and only very rarely allows conclusions about the actual text of Callimachus.¹⁰

All this makes it clear that, whereas on the one hand Aristaenetus is an important source for Callimachus's *Aetia*, he has on the other hand to be used very carefully. Now, most of the fragments of the *Aetia* which can with certainty be related to the stories in Aristaenetus have been spotted and located long ago (details in Pfeiffer 1949), but in a few instances we may be able to get a little beyond this, bearing in mind the cautionary remarks made above. Firstly, I shall suggest an interpretation of a lacunose papyrus-fragment with the help of Aristaenetus. Secondly, I shall argue that a few other passages¹¹ in Aristaenetus are likely to be quite close to Callimachus. In doing this I shall use the following criteria: (1) if a passage in Aristaenetus resembles a passage in a poet who is likely to have known and used Callimachus at this particular point, I assume that Aristaenetus's text is probably also close to Callimachus;¹² (2) if an expression or train of thought in Aristaenetus is very much like what one may expect Callimachus to have said, I also assume that Aristaenetus allows some conclusions as to the text or contents of Callimachus.¹³ Both criteria admittedly involve a certain subjective element.

4 The fragments of Callimachus are quoted from Pfeiffer 1949. In this article they will be indicated by 'fr.' without the author's name.

5 Cf. for a recent commentary Hopkinson 1988, 102ff.; see further Kenney 1983; Harder 1990. Another source for Callimachus's story is *Ov.Ep.* 20 and 21, which contain the 'correspondence' of Acontius and Cydippe. Here, however, the relation is much less close.

6 Cf. Dilthey 1863; Schneider 1864. A re-evaluation based on the new papyrus-fragments is given by Dietzler 1933, 27ff.

7 On Aristaenetus's methodology concerning other authors cf. e.g. Arnott 1968b; Arnott 1973; Arnott 1982, 302ff.; Mazal 1972; Masullo 1982 (which I have not seen); Magrini 1981; for a short survey of Aristaenetus's treatment of Callimachus see Dietzler 1933, 41f.

8 So e.g. fr.75,20f. τέτρατον [ο]ύκ' ἔμεινε πατήρ and Aristaen.1,10,88f. ὁ δὲ πατήρ τετάρτην οὐκ ἀνέμεινε νόσον; for more examples see Pfeiffer's commentary (1949). Cf. also the long address of Pieria in fr.80,5ff. and Aristaen.1,15,36ff. where Aristaenetus retains the 'Du-Stil' used by Callimachus.

9 So e.g. in 1,10,106ff. where Aristaenetus is using the example of Midas and Tantalus instead of Iphicles and Midas who are used in fr.75,44ff. to illustrate the bliss of Acontius's wedding-night; and in 1,15,36f. ἐν δὲ τῷ πατρὶ ὑπερφέρουσα γυναικῶν καὶ κάλλει καὶ γνῶμῃ, where Aristaenetus's address of Pieria includes an outburst of admiration lacking in fr.80,5. In a similar way his description of Pieria's shame in 1,15,43ff. is much longer than Callimachus's

description in fr.80,10f.

10 E.g. fr.72 ὄραδε τῷ πάσῃσι ἐπὶ προχάσῃσι ἐφοίτα, which appears in Aristaen.1,10,53f. as εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐπὶ πάσῃσι προφάσει τὸν πάτερα φεύγων ἐφοίτα. On Aristaenetus's use of the Greek language see further Nissen 1940.

11 Due to reasons of space the selection is not exhaustive. Some points have been made also by earlier scholars in relation to Latin poetry (see especially 2.7), but it seemed useful to collect their evidence and evaluate the results for Callimachus.

12 The validity of this criterium becomes apparent when one looks at fr.73 ὅλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φλοισοῖσι κεκομμένα τόσσα φέροιτε | γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὅσσ' ἐρέουσι καλὴν, which is recalled by Prop. 1,18,21f. *a quotiens teneras resonant mea uerba sub umbras, | scribitur et uestris Cynthia corticibus* and 31 *resonant mihi 'Cynthia' siluae*; Verg.Ecl. 10,52ff. *certum est in siluis inter spelaea ferarum | malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores | arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, amores*, and Aristaen.1,10,58-61; or at fr.74 λιρὸς ἐγώ, τί δέ σοι τόνδ' ἐπέθηκα φόβον; which is recalled by Aristaen. 1,10,64f. ὦ δυστυχὴς ἐγώ, τί δέ σοι τοῦτον ἐπῆγον τὸν φόβον; and *Ov.Ep.* 20,125f. *macror interdum, quod sim tibi causa dolendi teque mea laedi calliditate puto*.

13 This criterium is also used by Arnott 1973, 207.

2 Acontius and Cydippe

2.1 Aristaen.1,10,3f.

Fr.67,18-21

α]πειπάμεν [
]. [.]ν ἐπιτιμ[]α
μ]οῦνον ἔμεν .α[
]. [.]ν ὄθ.μασιν[

Though fr.67,18ff. are lost beyond recovery, these lines recall Aristaen.1,10,3f. τὴν μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς ἑαυτῆς φιλοτίμοις (cf.19 ἐπιτιμ[¹⁴] κεκόσμηκεν Ἀφροδίτη, μόνου (cf.20 μοῦνον) τοῦ κεστοῦ φεικαμένη (cf.18 ἀ]πειπάμεν[¹⁵]). This similarity may be accidental, but it is tempting to think that it is not, and that these lines refer to Aphrodite's adornment of Cydippe and refusal of the κεστός; this would fit the context very well, as the preceding lines (fr.67,9-15) dealt with Cydippe's exceptional beauty.¹⁶

A closer look at the contents of the passage in Aristaenetus may provide us with some arguments in favour of this interpretation of the papyrus-fragment. In itself the adornment by Aphrodite is a conventional element in descriptions of female beauty,¹⁷ but the fact that Aphrodite *refuses* to give Cydippe the κεστός, a symbol of female attractiveness, is not so easily explained as conventional. In fact this rather suggests a detail specific to the story of Acontius and Cydippe and therefore possibly Callimachean. If we turn to a passage in the *Iliad* in which the κεστός plays a part this may provide a clue: *Il.*14,214ff.

ἀπὸ κτήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο κεστὸν ἱμάντα
ποικίλον, ἔνθα μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἕμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς
πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἐκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονέοντων.

Here Aphrodite *offers* the κεστός to Hera, who wants to seduce Zeus and needs some extra charm (cf. *Il.*14,198).¹⁸ Perhaps the detail of withholding the κεστός

14 If rightly read, this is either the verb ἐπιτιμέω or a related noun or adjective. In either case it could refer to Aphrodite's endowments with which Cydippe is honoured. This sense of the word is unusual, but not impossible; cf. e.g. *S.EI*.915 ἀλλ' ἔστ' Ὀρέτου ταῦτα τάσιτιμα (if the text is sound: it is rejected by Jebb, but defended by Kaibel and Kamerbeek ad loc., who accept the explanation of the scholia τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ γενόμενα τοῦ πατρός); and *Hdt.*6,39,2 τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Κτησαγόρεα ... ἐπιτιμένον. Alternatively we may read ἐπι τιμ[.

15 Either ἀ]πειπάμεν[αι or part.aor.med. Alternatively we may supply ἐ]π - or ὑπ - (cf. Pfeiffer 1949, ad loc.).

16 The remains of fr.67,16-17 allow no conclusions as to their contents.

17 Cf. Aristaen.1,1,2 κάλλιστα δὲ πάντων ἐκόσμηκεν Ἀφροδίτη; 1,15,24 κάκ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐπισχημότερον κοσμηθεῖσα.

18 That the episode of Hera and Zeus was in Callimachus's mind when writing the story of Acontius and Cydippe can also be inferred from fr.75,4 Ἥρην γὰρ κοτέφασι, where the narrator almost begins a digression on the prenuptial relationship of Hera and Zeus to explain a wedding-ritual at Naxos which had just been performed by Cydippe. This relationship of Zeus and Hera is mentioned in *Il.*14,294-296: when Zeus sees Hera (adorned with the κεστός) he is flooded with desire οἷον ὅτε πρῶτον περ ἐμικυέσθην φιλότῃ, | εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε,

was a subtle allusion to the situation in the *Iliad* (though the context does not enable us to say in what way¹⁹): this kind of thing would be very much like Callimachus.

It is also striking that Aristaenetus employs the word κεστός: the use of this word as a substantive, instead of as an adjective, is typical of Callimachus, according to *Σ A Il.*3,371: ... ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὡς ὄνομα κύριον τοῦ ἱμάντος τὸν κεστὸν ἐκδέχεται (cf. also *Σ A Il.*14,214). The word also occurs in fr.43,53 κεστ[ο]ῦ [δ]εσπότ[ι]ς (i.e. Aphrodite), to which Pfeiffer related the scholia, but the scholiast's comments may equally well refer to a passage in the story of Acontius and Cydippe (so also Dilthey 1863, 30) or to Callimachus's use of the word in general. In any case it seems possible that Aristaenetus took this word here straight from Callimachus. We cannot be entirely certain, however, because Aristaenetus uses the word κεστός as a substantive also in 1,1,44 τῶν Χαρίτων πάντως ἡ Λαῖς τὸν κεστὸν ὑπεζώσατο; cf. *Alciph.**Ep.*4,11,7 (p.123,5f. Schepers).

In fr.67,21 ὄθ.μασιν recalls Aristaen.1,10,5-9, where the beauty of the eyes of both Cydippe and Acontius is described:

καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι Χάριτες οὐ τρεῖς καθ' Ἡσίοδου, ἀλλὰ δεκάδων περιχορεύει δεκάς. τὸν δὲ νέον ἐκόσμου ὀφθαλμοὶ παιδρὸι μὲν ὡς καλοῦ, φοβεροὶ δὲ ὡς σώφρονος.

The excessive number of Graces in the eyes as contrasted with the three Graces of the old tradition recurs as a motif in *Musae.*63ff. (of Hero)

οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ
τρεῖς Χάριτας ψεύσαντο πεφυκέναι· εἰς δὲ τις Ἡροῦς
ὀφθαλμὸς γελῶν ἑκατὸν Χαρίτεσσι τεθῆλει.

Musaeus appears to have known Callimachus's story of Acontius and Cydippe too.²⁰ It is therefore conceivable that *Musae.*63ff. is a reminiscence of our passage and ὄθ.μασιν part of a similar description of Cydippe's eyes²¹ (the text does not favour the idea that we have already reached the eyes of Acontius as was suggested tentatively by Pfeiffer). A difficulty here is that this way of describing beautiful eyes was a *topos* which Aristaenetus and Musaeus may have

φύλους λήθοντε τοκήας.

19 A reason for withholding the κεστός is mentioned in Aristaen.1,10,5 καὶ τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν παρθένον εἶχεν ἐξάριετον ἡ θεός: Aphrodite keeps the κεστός in order to have something special left in comparison to Cydippe. We have no indications as to whether Callimachus mentioned the same reason.

20 *Musae.*21f. ἡ μὲν Κηστὸν ἔναιεν, ὁ δὲ πτολίεθρον Ἀβύδου, | ἀμφοτέρων πολίων περικαλλέες ὁπότερ' ὄμφω is undoubtedly a reminiscence of fr.67,5-8.

21 The other remains of the fr.67,20f. are inconclusive, but not against such an interpretation: in 20 .α[was read as λα[or χα[by Lobel; in 21]. [.]ν could be read as .]ε[ι]ν (the end of a verb of which the Charites were the subject?).

used independently of Callimachus.²² We must therefore include the possibility that Aristaenetus is adding this topos as an embellishment of his own,²³ and that fr.67,21 ὁθμασιν refers to something else.

2.2 Aristaen.1,10,13f.

The beauty of Acontius is also emphasized by Aristaenetus and is said to have resulted in a great deal of admiration by other young men. Aristaen.1,10,9-12 has long been related to fr.68. For Aristaen.1,10,13f. καὶ πολλοὶ γε ... τοῖς ἔχνεσι τοῦ μειρακίου τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐφήρμοζον πόδας we may compare Verg.*Ecl.*2,12 *tua dum uestigia lustrō*, where the love-sick Corydon speaks about his pursuit of Alexis in the context of a lament to nature which seems to be inspired by Acontius's lament after the trick with the apple.²⁴

This may be an indication that the motif was also in Callimachus. For other Greek examples of this motif cf. Meleager *AP* 12,84,5 (=4606 Gow-Page) βαίνω δ' ἔχνος ἐπ' ἔχνος; Nonn.*D.*42,54f. (Dionysus pursuing Beroe in a wood)

καὶ Βερόης μετρηδὸν ἐπ' ἔχνεσιν ἔχνος ἐρείδων,
οἷά περ ἀγνώσων, περιδέδρομεν.

2.3 Aristaen.1,10,20-21

Aristaen.1,10,20-21 τοιγαροῦν εὐθέως, ὦ κάλλιστον παιδίον 'Ακόντιε, δυσὶν θάτερον, ἢ γάμον ἢ θάνατον διελογίζου βληθείς. There are a few reasons for suspecting a close link with Callimachus here: (1) the address of Acontius recalls the apostrophes in fr.75,40 'Ακόντιε; 44; 53 and 74 (cf. also Dietzler 1933, 42); (2) the fact that he is called παιδίον recalls fr.67,2 and 75,76; (3) the threat of suicide is reminiscent of Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 20 and 60, and this is considered as a link with Callimachus by Kenney 1983 (55). The motif of suicide seems to be too commonplace to be considered as an argument in its own right, especially if we compare Aristaen.2,17,18f. καὶ διὰ <τὸ> σὸν κάλλος ἢ γάμον ἀκμένως ἢ τάφον αἰροῦμαι. But in combination with the first two arguments it may make a close connection of this passage with Callimachus likely.

22 For other examples of this topos cf. the description of Laïs in Aristaen.1,1,17f. ἔνθα δὲ τὰς Χάριτας ἐγκαθιδρυμέναις παρέστι προσκυνεῖν; Strato *AP* 12,181; somewhat different is Nonn.*D.*34,36ff. ὡς μὲν ἀκούω | τρεῖς Χάριτες γεγάσι, χορίτιδες 'Ορχομενοῖο, | ἀμφίπολοι Φοῖβοιο, χοροπλεκέας δὲ Λυαίου | εἰς τρηκοσίω Χαρῖτων εἰσέχες.

23 So also Dilthey 1863, 31f. There may be rhetorical influence here; cf. Lesky 1951, 45 on rhetorical influences in Aristaenetus: "Eine bedeutende Rolle spielt ferner ... die Ekphrasis, die Beschreibung. Weibliche Schönheit mit eleganten Wendungen zu schildern, wie dies I 1 und II 21 tun, konnte auch Aufgabe eines rhetorisches Exerzitiums sein."

24 For the relation between Verg.*Ecl.*2 and Callimachus's story of Acontius see below. On this passage cf. Kenney 1983, 50f.

2.4 Aristaen.1,10,25ff.

Aristaen.1,10,25ff. τοῦ κήπου τῆς 'Αφροδίτης Κυδώνιον ἐλεξάμενος μήλον ἀπάτης αὐτῷ περιγεγράφηκας λόγον καὶ λάθραι διεκύλισας πρὸ τῶν τῆς θεραπαίνης ποδῶν deserves further scrutiny.

First of all the fact that this is narrated through the second person singular suggests that Aristaenetus is following Callimachus's narrative fairly closely here: frequent addresses of Acontius are a typical feature also of fr.75 (see 2.3).

Secondly it is striking that the apple is described as Cydonian. Κυδωνία μάλα are 'quinces', a kind of apple discussed at some length in Athen.3,81-82.²⁵ These apples are mentioned sometimes in erotic contexts²⁶ and therefore it is not surprising that we find them here. In itself, however, any kind of apple would do, as all sorts of apples are used in erotic affairs.²⁷ We may therefore wonder, whether there are more particular reasons for choosing Cydonian apples and, if so, who could be responsible for this choice. Two points should be noticed in this respect:

(1) Cydonian apples were an antidote for τὸ τοξικόν, arrow-poison (cf. Nic.*Alex.*234f.), and this of course is — in a certain sense — exactly what Acontius is suffering from: in Aristaen.1,10,14-20 it is explained at length that Eros has wounded him as much as he could! The idea that the choice for a Cydonian apple here has something to do with its medicinal powers against arrow-poison and that this goes back on Callimachus also wins some support from a passage which is reminiscent of Acontius's situation and contains a similar allusion. This is Verg.*Ecl.*10,59f. (spoken by the love-sick Gallus) *libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu | spicula - tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris*. In this passage the mention of *medicina* so soon after *Cydonia* has been regarded as an allusion to the medicinal powers of quinces. Because of the context of an unhappy lover comparable to Acontius, *Ecl.*10 is likely to contain a number of reminiscences of Callimachus (see 2.7) and the allusion to Cydonian apples as a cure for love-sickness was probably one of them, especially because the motif recurs in Aristaenetus;²⁸

(2) Cydonian also means 'Cretan', being derived from the place-name Cydonia of a town in North-West Crete and in this sense the word is used elsewhere in Callimachus.²⁹ Cretans, however, were well-known for being liars and untrustworthy, a fact which is emphasized by Callimachus in *h.*1,8f. Therefore the epithet would seem to fit this deceitful apple particularly well. An argument in favour of this idea may also be that Hesychius is offering an explanation of the epithet which seems to fit the use of Κυδώνιον here very well: Hsch. (K 4429

25 Cf. also Plin.*NH* 15,11 *mala quae uocamus cotonea et Graeci Cydonia e Creta insula aduecta*.

26 Cf. e.g. Stesich.*PMG* 187,1 (they are thrown at the waggon of Helen and Menelaos at their wedding); Ibyc.*PMG* 286,1f. (in a context about the sufferings of the love-sick).

27 Cf. e.g. Theoc.5,88 with Gow ad loc.

28 There is a similar allusion, though in a different context, in Verg.*A.*12,858. For the argument cf. Boyd 1983; Rosen-Farrell 1986.

29 Callimachus uses the word in this sense e.g. in *h.*3,81 (of Artemis's bow; cf. Bornmann ad loc.); fr.560 and the subst. Κύδωνες in *h.*1,45 and 3,197.

Latte) s.v. κυδώνιον· μέγα καὶ ἀξιόλογον, ἡ ἀπατηλόν, δόλιον, λοῖδορον.³⁰ From what has been said above it will be clear that the epithet Κυδώνιον is appropriate at various levels, linking the apple from Aphrodite's garden to Acontius's wound as well as to the deceit which he is using to cure it. This kind of play with the epithet would be typical of Callimachus and in view of the support of Verg.*Ecl.* 10,59f. I think we are justified in attributing the choice for the Cydonian apple to him and not to Aristaenetus.

As to the description of the apple in Aristaen. 1,10,33ff.: the description of the beauty of the apple by Cydippe's nurse recalls *Dieg.* Z 1f. μήλωι καλ[ί]στῳ and therefore is likely to have been in Callimachus's version of the story too.

2.5 Aristaen. 1,10,45f.

Next the passage which follows the description of Cydippe's shame, Aristaen. 1,10,45 εἶπεν ἡ παῖς, ἀκήκοεν Ἄρτεμις καὶ παρθένος οὖσα θεός, Ἄκόντιε, συνελάβετο σοι τοῦ γάμου, should be considered. First of all the phrasing recalls Call.*h.* 6,56 εἶπεν ὁ παῖς, Νέμεσις δὲ κακὰν ἐγράψατο φωνάν; cf. also Ach.*Tat.* 8,12,2 ὤμοσεν ἡ Ῥοδῶπις καὶ ἤκουσεν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη. Secondly the immediate reaction of the goddess is also found in Ov.*Ep.* 20,19 *adfuit et, praesens ut erat, tua uerba notauit* and 97f. *adfuit et uidit, cum tu decepta rubebas, | et uocem memori condidit aure tuam*. In the third place the emphasis on the incongruity of the virgin goddess Artemis helping Acontius recalls Ov.*Ep.* 21,11 *at melius uirgo fauisset uirginis annis*. All this suggests that Aristaen. 1,10,45f. is close to Callimachus.

2.6 Aristaen. 1,10,47f.

The way in which the narrator checks himself in Aristaen. 1,10,47f. τέως οὖν τὸν δειλαιν - ἄλλ' οὔτε θαλάττης τρικυμίας οὔτε πόθου κορυφούμενον κάλον εὐμαρὲς ἀφηγεῖσθαι and refers to the difficulty of what he is wanting to say is strongly reminiscent of the self-conscious author whom we find in Call.*fr.* 75.³¹

2.7 Aristaen. 1,10,51ff.

The love-sick Acontius withdraws into the country in Aristaen. 1,10,51ff.; a few fragments of Callimachus can be attributed to this scene, because they are clearly paraphrased in Aristaenetus.³² It is therefore certain that the scene was in Callimachus.

Similar situations recur in Verg.*Ecl.* 2, 8 and 10, where we find the solitary laments of Corydon, Damon and Gallus respectively, and in Prop. 1,18, a

³⁰ This passage was also adduced by Dilthey 1863, 62.

³¹ Cf. on the self-conscious author in *fr.* 75 Harder 1990. For the use of an 'Abbruchsformel' in Callimachus's *Aetia* cf. e.g. *fr.* 26,20f.; 57,1f.; 75,4ff.

³² Cf. *fr.* 72, 73 and 74 (on which see n.10 and 12).

monologue addressed to Cynthia, in which the speaker has withdrawn into the countryside in order to lament. Regarding all four poems, it has been argued convincingly that they are influenced by Callimachus's description of Acontius's lament.³³ This means that when we come across passages where there is a strong similarity between Aristaenetus and a passage or phrase in one of these poems we may assume that something to this effect was in Callimachus too, even though some of the correspondences may be *loci communes*.³⁴ Less close, but also relevant is Ov.*Am.* 3,6, where the speaker addresses a stream which keeps him from his beloved.

In addition to the passages which are related to actual fragments of Callimachus and are now to be found in Pfeiffer's edition we may consider Aristaen. 1,10,57 μόνον δὲ φηγοῖς ὑποκαθήμενος ἡ πτελέαις ὠμίλει τοιάδε and 74-76 ἄλλ' ὦ φίλτατα δένδρα, τῶν ἡδυφώνων ὀρνίθων οἱ θῶκοι, ἄρα κἄν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ ἔρω, καὶ πίτυος τυχὸν ἡράσθη κυπάριττος, ἡ ἄλλο φυτὸν ἐτέρου φυτοῦ. These passages recall several passages in the above-mentioned poems of Propertius, Virgil and Ovid:

(1) the reference to the *fagus* and the love of trees in Prop. 1,18,19-20 *uos eritis testes, si quos habet arbor amores, | fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo* and to the love of rivers in Ov.*Am.* 3,6,23f. *flumina debebant iuuenes in amore iuuare: | flumina senserunt ipsa, quid esset amor* also spoken by a thwarted lover in lonely nature.³⁵ This kind of anthropomorphism also recalls the talking trees in Call.*Ia.* *fr.* 194,6ff.;

(2) Verg.*Ecl.* 2,1-5, where the love-sick shepherd Corydon is addressing Alexis in a very similar setting, again including the *fagus*; cf. esp. 3-5 *tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos | adsidue ueniebat. ibi haec incondita solus | montibus et siluis studio iactabat inani*. Here the phrasing as well as the situation are comparable to Aristaenetus's description of Acontius's retreat. The expression φηγοῖς ὑποκαθήμενος in Aristaenetus is also reminiscent of other Hellenistic examples; cf. Theoc. 12,8f. *σκιεῖρην δ' ὑπὸ φηγόν | ἡλείου φρύγοντος ὁδοιπόρος ἔδραμεν ὥς τις* and Phanocles 1,1-6, esp. 3 *σκιεροῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσιν ἔζειτ'*, about Orpheus lamenting Calais;³⁶

(3) Prop. 1,18,30 *cogor ad argutas dicere solus auis*. This suggests that the birds were thus described in Callimachus, and in this respect it is striking that ἄλλ' ὦ φίλτατα δένδρα is dactylic and θῶκος the epic form for θάκος (e.g. *Il.* 8,439). If an address of the trees can be attributed to Callimachus, the answer given by

³³ Cf. Kenney 1983, 44-59; Cairns 1969. The similarities were first observed by Jacoby 1961; cf. also La Penna 1951, 167ff. The fact that Propertius used the story of Acontius and Cydippe is now generally accepted.

³⁴ On the motif of the solitary lament addressed to nature see e.g. Enk on Prop. 1,18 (intr.).

³⁵ The motif of love among trees recurs in Ach.*Tat.* 1,17,3 (18,24-25 Vilborg) in a passage on the power of Eros, where the love of male and female date-palms is used as an example. For more examples see Dilthey 1863, 78ff.

³⁶ The φηγός, best taken as a kind of oak (cf. e.g. Gow on Theoc. 9,20), was well-known for its shade, and this quality was transmitted to the *fagus* ('beech') in Latin poetry. Cf. e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 1,1 *tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*. On φηγός / *fagus* see further Williams 1968, 317ff.; Kenney 1983, 49f. who also takes the word as an indication that Virgil goes back on Callimachus's story of Acontius.

Acontius to his own question in Aristaen.1,10,76-79 and his motivation of the answer must also go back to Callimachus. The sequence recalls such passages as h.1,6-9 (question - answer - motivation of the answer).³⁷

3 Conclusion

In conclusion we may say that the examination of Aristaenetus has been profitable on several points. Firstly, his letters have helped to suggest an interpretation for a lacunose piece of papyrus. Secondly, it has been possible to compare these letters with the works of other authors, who had clearly used Callimachus, and this has provided an indication of what was probably said in Callimachus, even though it has not been possible to recover the exact phrasing in the *Aetia*. What we have gained in this respect is: (1) some idea of the way in which the beauty of Acontius and Cydippe was described by Callimachus; (2) some indications of the reactions to the events by the main characters (Acontius's threat of suicide and his speech to nature, Artemis's quick decision to help); (3) some further evidence for Callimachus's literary technique (allusion and wordplay, apostrophe, 'Abbruchsformel').

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37 Cairns 1969 also mentions (1) Prop.1,18,17f., which he compares with Aristaen.1,10,51f and 81f.: I find this less convincing, as changes of colour are very conventional indeed; and (2) Prop.1,18,1-4, which according to him recalls Aristaen.1,10,48-53, the reasons for Acontius's withdrawal into the country. Here too the abundance of conventional elements is too great to permit one to draw any specific conclusions for Callimachus.

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SPUREN EINER WICHTIGEN TEXTVARIANTE ZU ARISTOPHANES
AVES 391 IN EINIGEN BYZANTINISCHEN SCHOLIENHANDSCHRIFTEN

D. Holwerda

Nach den Alexandrinern sind es die Byzantiner gewesen die eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben bei der Überlieferung altgriechischer Texte. Nachdem besonders Photios und Leo Philosophus das Interesse für die alte Literatur wieder erweckt hatten, sind ja zahllose Unzialhandschriften in die Schönschrift der neuen Ära, die Buchminuskel, transliteriert worden. Und es sind hauptsächlich diese Minuskelhandschriften des 10. bis 15. Jahrhunderts, die uns die griechischen Texte des klassischen und nachklassischen Zeitalters erhalten haben.

Nun haben in den letzten Jahrzehnten die Herausgeber bei der Konstituierung klassischer Texte mit Recht die indirekte Überlieferung mehr als früher in ihre Erwägungen einbezogen. Für diese indirekte Überlieferung aber bieten die alten Scholien eine wichtige Quelle. Obwohl sie zum grössten Teil zusammen mit den Texten auf die sie sich beziehen, überliefert sind, nämlich an den Rändern einer Texthandschrift, haben ihre Autoren doch nicht immer genau den Text vor Augen gehabt, den wir in der bezüglichen Handschrift finden. Die Scholien einer bestimmten Handschrift sind nämlich öfters einer anderen Quelle entnommen als der Text derselben Handschrift. In vielen Fällen geht das aus dem vom Text abweichenden Lemma eines Scholions hervor. Aber auch der Inhalt eines Scholions verrät dann und wann eine abweichende Textvorlage. Auf einen der zuletzt genannten Fälle möchte ich in diesem Beitrag die Aufmerksamkeit lenken.

Es handelt sich um eine Stelle die die meisten modernen Herausgeber und Erklärer als verderbt betrachten, nämlich *Ar. Av.* 388-392. Die wichtigsten Handschriften überliefern den Text wie folgt:

388 καὶ τὸ δόρυ χρή, τὸν ὀβελίσκον,
389 περιπατεῖν ἔχοντας ἡμᾶς
390 τῶν ὅπλων ἐντὸς παρὰ

391 τὴν χύτραν ἄκραν αὐτὴν ὀρῶντας
392 ἐγγύς· ὥς οὐ φευκτέον νῦν.

U gibt in V. 390 περὶ statt παρὰ, A und M in V. 391 αὐτὴν statt τὴν.

Die Verse 390 und 391 sind metrisch nicht in Ordnung. Dawes hat αὐτὴν in V. 391 gestrichen und diesem Wort seine Stelle am Ende von V. 390 zugewiesen, schreibt also

390 τῶν ὅπλων ἐντὸς παρ' αὐτὴν
391 τὴν χύτραν ἄκραν ὀρῶντας

Aber damit ist der Text dem Sinne nach noch immer nicht geheilt.

Bevor wir die Probleme des näheren betrachten, zuerst ein Wort zur dramatischen Situation. Der Chor der Vögel ist von seinem Chorführer zu einem Angriff auf Euelpides und Peisthetairos¹ aufgerufen worden (V. 343 ff.). Aus dessen Worten wird klar, dass die Vögel sich besonders ihres ῥύγχος als Waffe zu bedienen gedenken (V. 348), und dass ihre Kampftätigkeit in τίλλειν καὶ δάκνειν (V. 352; vgl. V. 365) bestehen wird. E. und P. ihrerseits haben zwar den ὀβελίσκος als Angriffswaffe zur Verfügung (V. 359), müssen sich aber eine Abwehr ersinnen gegen die scharfen Schnäbel ihrer Feinde, die besonders ihre Augen gefährden (V. 360). Dann aber mahnt der Wiedehopf die Vögel zuerst den Fremdlingen, E. und P., die Gelegenheit zu geben deutlich zu machen, mit welchen Absichten sie zu den Vögeln gekommen sind (V. 366 ff.). Und in der Tat ist der Chor bereit die Feindseligkeiten aufzuschieben (V. 381 f.). Dessen friedfertige Haltung gibt P. Anlass seinen Freund dazu aufzurufen den Topf (τὴν χύτραν), den er als Schild verwendet, und die beiden Trinkschalen (τῶ τε τρυβλίῳ), die zum Schutz seiner Augen dienten (V. 361), abzulegen (V. 386 f.). Sich ganz entwaffnen aber soll er vorläufig nicht. Sie sollen sich darauf beschränken τὸ δόρυ ..., τὸν ὀβελίσκον, περιπατεῖν ἔχοντας ("mit geschultertem Spiess ... auf und ab zu patrouillieren"; Schroeder, 1927 z. St.) und zwar τῶν ὅπλων ἐντὸς ("innerhalb des Lagers", das man sich von den zu Boden gelegten 'Waffen', χύτρα und τρυβλίῳ, begrenzt denken muss).

Was dann folgt (παρ' αὐτὴν / τὴν χύτραν ἄκραν ὀρῶντας / ἐγγύς) wird zwar von Schroeder so verstanden: "scharf an dem oberen Rand (ἄκραν) des Wehrgangs" — dazu dient nach ihm die χύτρα — "hinwegzuspähn, durchaus in der Nähe bleibend", aber die Richtigkeit dieser Wiedergabe ist zweifelhaft. Besonders fragt man sich, ob ἐγγύς genügt um auszudrücken "in der Nähe *bleibend*". Wohl mit Recht schrieb Kock (1894, z. St.), dessen Kommentar Schroeder bearbeitete: "Das folgende scheint nicht ganz richtig überliefert zu sein; weder die Bdtg. des παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν χύτραν ἄκραν ὀρῶντας ... noch die Beziehung des ἐγγύς ist recht klar." Blaydes (1882, ad loc.) gibt als sein Urteil: "Locus nondum sanatus videtur. Vitiosum videtur ὀρῶντας." Und Van Leeuwen (1902, ad loc.) schreibt: "Verba corrupta; numeros restituebat Dawes ..., sed sensum tolerabilem nemo inde effecit."

1 Diese Namensform geben auch die Scholien. Was die richtige Form ist, lasse ich dahingestellt.

Es kommt nun aber hinzu, dass ein Scholion zu dieser Stelle Kenntniss einer abweichenden Lesart verrät. Es ist uns in den Handschriften V, M9 (aus der Hds. E, die hier fehlt, abgeschrieben), Γ und M überliefert. Auch Musurus hat es in die Aldina aufgenommen. Der für uns wichtige Teil dieses Scholions lautet: *τουτέστι δεῖ καὶ μὴ φοροῦντας ἐγγύθεν αὐτὴν ἔχειν*. Margareta Renkema, die ihre sehr verdienstliche Dissertation den textkritischen Problemen der Aves-Scholien gewidmet hat (Renkema 1911), hat auf diese Scholien-Stelle aufmerksam gemacht, und aus ihr mit Recht geschlossen, dass der Autor dieser Bemerkung einen Text vor sich hatte in dem statt ἄκραν ὀρῶντας gelesen wurde καὶ μὴ φοροῦντας. Das gibt Blaydes' Verdacht gegen das in dem Text unserer Handschriften überlieferte ὀρῶντας jedenfalls eine Stütze.

Renkema, deren Bemerkung von späteren Gelehrten unbeachtet geblieben zu sein scheint,² ändert zwar im Scholion αὐτὴν in αὐτό, um es auf τὸ δόρυ beziehen zu können, übernimmt aber sonst den vom Scholiasten gebotenen Text sowie dessen Erklärung, und schreibt: "Ordo sententiae hic est: καὶ χρὴ περιπατεῖν ἡμᾶς τῶν ὅπλων ἐντὸς, τὸ δόρυ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν χύτραν, καὶ μὴ φοροῦντας, ἔχοντας. Necesse est intra castra ambulemus, hastam iuxta ollam, licet non gestemus, attamen praesto habentes." Aber auch das befriedigt doch nicht. Erstens ist es angesichts des grossen Abstandes zwischen den beiden Wörtern doch höchst unwahrscheinlich, dass ἐγγύς auf ἔχοντας zu beziehen sei. Überdies aber möchte man fragen: wie soll man sich das ἐγγύς ἔχειν vorstellen, wenn es nicht ein φορεῖν ist? Die beiden Athener sollen ja, wenn sie den Rat des P. befolgen, *mit* (ἔχοντας) *dem Spiess*, der bis dann in dem Boden gepflanzt stand (V. 360), *herumspazieren*. Dass περιπατεῖν zwischen τὸν ὀβελίσκον und ἔχοντας eingeschoben ist, deutet m.E. darauf hin, dass das ὀβελίσκον ἔχειν mit dem περιπατεῖν aufs engste verbunden, in dieser letzten Handlung sozusagen einbegriffen ist. Das bedeutet doch wohl, dass sie den Spiess wieder *in die Hand* nehmen müssen? ἔχειν kann hier also m.E. kaum anders verstanden werden denn als φέρειν (oder φορεῖν). Zweitens sucht man bei Renkema vergebens eine Erklärung für die Entstehung der handschriftlichen Lesart unseres Textes. Dass φοροῦντας zu ὀρῶντας entstellt wurde, lässt sich zwar sehr gut denken, ἄκραν aber liegt den Worten καὶ μὴ nicht besonders nahe.

Man muss also feststellen, dass die neue Lesart, wie sehr sie auch Beachtung verdient, die Probleme des Textes nicht einfach löst, sondern vielmehr vermehrt.

Ich muss gestehen, dass auch ich nicht im Stande bin den Originaltext mit Sicherheit wiederherzustellen. Dafür sind die Verderbnisse zu schwer. Dennoch möchte ich versuchen wenigstens einige der hier auftauchenden Fragen zu beantworten.

1 Was die Herkunft von ἄκραν betrifft, scheint es mir möglich, dass wir in diesem Wort mit einer erklärenden Glosse zu αὐτὴν (das in der Überlieferung um eine Zeile zu weit nach unten steht) zu tun haben. (Man beachte, dass die beiden Wörter in dem überlieferten Text auf einander folgen.) περιπατεῖν ... παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν χύτραν besagt ja, dass E. und P. "gerade an

2 Sie wird nicht erwähnt von Kraus 1931. Ebensowenig von Fraenkel 1959, 9-30.

dem Topf entlang patrouillieren", also *dessen äussersten Rand* streifen. Versuchsweise möchte ich also ἄκραν *als Textvariante* ausschalten.³

- 2 Bei der Lesart καὶ μὴ, die man sich im Archetypus unserer Handschriften als durch das mit ἄκραν glossierte αὐτὴν verdrängt denken muss (s. oben unter 1), bekommt man in καὶ eine gute Verbindung zwischen den beiden präsentischen Partizipien ἔχοντας und φοροῦντας (oder ὀρῶντας).
- 3 Bei den beiden genannten überlieferten Lesarten, φοροῦντας und ὀρῶντας, vermisst man — falls καὶ μὴ richtig ist — ein Objekt. Keine von beiden befriedigt also. Hier scheint mir aber eine leichte Korrektur Auskunft zu bieten; eine Korrektur die den Vorteil hat, dass sie sozusagen eine Mischform aus den beiden überlieferten Lesarten ist, nämlich ἀφορῶντας. Die Worte μὴ ἀφορῶντας sind mit Synaloiphe zu lesen,⁴ wurden aber vielleicht in gewissen Handschriften mit Aphaeresis geschrieben (μὴ 'φορῶντας).⁵ Damit wurde den beiden Verschlimmbesserungen, ὀρῶντας und φοροῦντας, der Weg gebahnt. P. warnt also seinen Freund, sie sollten das Auge nicht (vom Feinde) abwenden, ihn nicht aus den Augen lassen.
- 4 So bekommt man auch für das was folgt einen guten Anschluss. Wozu sollte nämlich das ἀφορᾶν (den Blick abwenden) anders dienen als dazu, dass man sich nach einem Zufluchtsort umsieht? Nun, eben der Fluchtgedanke wird mit den folgenden Worten (ὡς οὐ φευκτέον νῦν) geradeheraus abgelehnt. Die Annahme dieses Zusammenhangs lässt sich unterbauen durch einen Vergleich mit dem mit ἀφορᾶν synonymen, aber viel häufiger vorkommenden Verbum ἀποβλέπειν. Auch ἀποβλέπειν findet man in der Bedeutung 'hoffnungsvoll seinen Blick auf jemanden (oder etwas) wenden, wenn man

Hilfe sucht', z.B. Eur. *IA* 1378 εἰς ἔμ' 'Ελλάς ἡ μεγίστη πᾶσα νῦν ἀποβλέπει ("setzt seine Hoffnung auf mich") und besonders deutlich Pol. 3, 107, 8 συνέβαινε δὲ πάντας εἰς τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἀποβλέπειν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπερείδουσαι τὰς πλείστας ἐλπίδας.

- 5 Auch die Verbindung von ἐγγύς mit ἀφορῶντας scheint mir nicht problematisch zu sein: wenn man einem Feinde gegenüber nicht standhalten kann, sieht man sich *in der nächsten Umgebung* nach Deckung um.

ZITIERTE LITERATUR:

- BLAYDES 1882: Fredericus H.M. Blaydes, *Aristophanis Aves*, Halle 1882.
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 SOMMERSTEIN 1987: Alan H. Sommerstein, *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, VI, *Birds*, Warminster 1987.
 VAN LEEUWEN 1902: J. van Leeuwen J.F., *Aristophanis Aves*, Leiden 1902.

3 Sommerstein 1987 hat die auf die Lesart ἄκραν gegründete Verbesserung Bothe's (μακράν) in seinen Text aufgenommen. Abgesehen davon dass Sommerstein die Variante καὶ μὴ φοροῦντας, die er nicht einmal erwähnt, unerklärt lässt, kann man gegen Bothe's Konjektur erstens das Bedenken tragen, dass sie eine zweite Verbesserung notwendig macht, nämlich κάγγυς - so tatsächlich Bothe, und mit ihm Sommerstein - statt ἐγγύς. Zweitens dass ich die Verbindung μακράν ὀρᾶν nicht zu belegen weiss. Bei Verben die 'sehen' bedeuten findet man gewöhnlich πόρρω (πόρρω, πρόσω), z.B. Pi. *O.* 1, 114 μηκέτι πάπταινε πόρσιον; Patrocles, TrGF 58 F 1,6 ... πρόσω βλέποντες; τὴν δὲ πλησίον τύχην / οὐκ ἴσμεν οὐδ' ὀρῶμεν ...; Pl. *Rp.* 432e πόρρω ποιᾶσθε σκοποῦμεν; Arist. *GA* V 1, 780b 18-21 ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπιλυγασάμενος τὴν χεῖρα ἢ δι' αὐλοῦ βλέπων ... ὄψεται πορρώτερον; *Rh.* III 12, 1414a 8-9 ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν πλείων ὁ ὄχλος, πορρώτερον ἢ θέα.

Das wird wohl kein Zufall sein. Bei μακράν ist ja in Gedanken ὁδόν zu ergänzen: man hat *einen langen Weg* zu gehen, um an den gewünschten Ort zu gelangen. Wenn man aber seinen Blick auf einen weit entfernten Punkt richtet, braucht man nicht den ganzen Weg von hier bis dort mit seinem Auge zu durchlaufen, sondern man fasst ihn *unmittelbar* ins Auge. Man schaut über eine grosse Strecke hinweg, legt diese Strecke aber nicht mit seinem Auge zurück.

4 Vgl. Koster 1966, 49: "Comme la synizèse, la synalèphe est plus rare dans la poésie épique que dans le drame ... La synalèphe est confinée en majeure partie à quelques monosyllabes se terminant en -η (ὅη, ἦ et ἦ, μή) et aux mots ἐγώ et ἐπεὶ, suivis d'un mot qui commence par une voyelle." Man vergleiche ausser der bei Aristophanes häufigen Verbindung μὴ ἀλλά (z.B. *Ach.* 458, *Thesm.* 288, *Ran.* 103) bei demselben Dichter *Thesm.* 476 μὴ ἄλλην und bei Euripides *Heracl.* 459 μὴ ἀμαθεῖ.

5 Vgl. Men. *Sam.* 580 ἰώ 'νθρωποι. So schrieb Porson Ar. *Ran.* 103 μὴ 'λλὰ. Bei Men. *Cith.* 47, wo der Papyrus μεταθως gibt, was man früher als μὴ 'μαθως interpretierte (vgl. Koster 1966, S. 46 Anm. 3), nimmt man jetzt mit Maas einen Schreibfehler an und liest μεταμως.

Abgesehen von Homer und seinen Interpreten gibt es kaum einen Autor, den Eustathios so oft zitiert wie Strabon, oder, wie er ihn selber meist nennt, τὸν γεωγράφον. Es ist gar keine Ausnahme daß sich zu *einer* Casaubonus-Seite des Strabontextes fünf bis zehn Eustathios-Testimonien finden. Ein Strabonherausgeber hat daher ständig mit dem Thessalonizenser Erzbischof zu schaffen, und so möchte ich hier ein paar Lesefrüchte, die dieser Umgang bisher gezeitigt hat, meinem geschätzten Kollegen und früheren Studienkameraden darbieten, mit allen guten Wünschen für ein glückliches *otium*.¹

Il. 274,45 ff. (ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ [sc. ὁ γεωγράφος] ἱστορεῖ ...) ὅτι ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ οἱ περὶ πού Λυκίαν Σόλυμοι Μινύαι ἀπὸ τινος Μίνωος, ὡς ἐν τῷ τῶν Λυκίων καταλόγῳ ῥηθήσεται (369, 16f). V.d. Valk bezieht dies auf Str. 667, 11 f.² βελτίους δ' οἱ φάσκοντες λέγεσθαι Σολύμους ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τοὺς νῦν Μιλύας προσαγορευομένους, was schon deshalb kaum wahrscheinlich ist weil dort nicht Μινύας sondern Μιλύας überliefert ist (eine Tatsache auf die auch v.d. Valk aufmerksam macht) — und zwar auch in der Epitome E, die auf dieselbe Handschrift zurückgeht wie Eustathios' Strabontext.³ Die von Eustathios gemeinte Strabonstelle ist vielmehr 573, 4ff. (auf welche Stelle auch v.d. Valk selber sowohl die spätere

1 Da im Folgenden Kritik geübt wird an einigen Quellenangaben v.d. Valks, sei um so nachdrücklicher betont daß v.d. Valk mit seiner Ausgabe ein unschätzbares Arbeitsinstrument geschaffen hat, dem auch die künftige Strabonausgabe zutiefst verpflichtet ist ("das trotz einigen Mängeln erstaunliche und höchst verdienstvolle Werk" urteilt abschließend Nickau 1984, 691 in seiner ausgewogenen Rezension der ersten drei Bände).

2 Zitiert nach der neuen Ausgabe, in der zu der Casaubonus-Seite die Zahl ihrer Zeile in dieser neuen Ausgabe (also nicht bei Casaubonus selbst) hinzugesetzt werden wird; eine Casaubonus-Seite hat dort durchschnittlich etwa 32 Zeilen.

3 Vgl. Erbse 1950,4; Diller 1975, 86 f.

Bemerkung, auf die Eustathios hier verweist, als auch die sehr ähnliche Mitteilung II. 635, 39f. zurückführt) τούτους δ' (sc. τοὺς Τερμίλας) ἀγαγεῖν ἐκ Κρήτης ἀποίκους Σαρπηδόνα, Μίνω καὶ 'Ραδαμάνθυος ἀδελφὸν ὄντα, καὶ ὀνομάσαι Τερμίλας τοὺς πρότερον Μινύας (so sämtliche Überlieferungsträger, auch E), ὡς φησιν 'Ηρόδοτος (1, 173, 2 f.), ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Σολύμου: hier erscheint nicht nur das falsche Μινύας, sondern auch der Name Minos, von dem Eustathios es paradoxerweise herleitet (möglicherweise ist dieser Name tatsächlich schuld an der Verderbnis von Μιλύας zu Μινύας).

Anlässlich der Nennung von Aias' Heimat Salamis bei Homer B 557 bemerkt Eust. II. 285, 14 f.: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Κυπρία Σαλαμῖν, ἣν Τεῦκρος οἰκίσας μετὰ Τροίας ἄλωσιν ὁμωνύμως τῇ πατρίδι καὶ αὐτὴν Σαλαμῖνα ἐκάλεσε. Dazu merkt v.d. Valk an: "Κυπρία – οἰκίσας C 682 (14,6,3)" und "μετὰ Τροίας ἄλωσιν cf. Σ Pind., Nem. 4,76". Die Strabonstelle hat aber wenig Ähnlichkeit mit Eustathios' Bemerkung. Sie lautet (682, 23f.4): εἴτ' 'Αχαῖων ἀκτὴ, ὅπου Τεῦκρος προσωρμίσθη πρῶτον [ὁ] κτίσας Σαλαμῖνα τὴν ἐν Κύπρῳ: nicht nur wird die Gründung von Salamis hier nur ganz nebenbei erwähnt — es fehlt vor allem auch jeder Hinweis auf die Namengebung nach der alten Heimat. Er fehlt auch an der zweiten von v.d. Valk angeführten Stelle Σ Pind. Nem. 4,76 (3,76,5 ff. Drachmann) ὁ γὰρ Τεῦκρος ἐλθὼν μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς 'Ιλίου ἐν Σαλαμῖνι καὶ ὑπονοηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τελαμῶνος ὡς αἴτιος γεγωνὶ τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Αἴαντος, φυγὼν ὤκησε τὴν Κύπρον καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς καὶ Λυκόφρων (450) ἱστορεῖ — ja, hier wird sogar nicht einmal gesagt daß Teukros das zyprische Salamis gegründet hat (Pindar redet ja an der Stelle, die hier kommentiert wird [N. 4,46], auch nur ganz allgemein von Zypern: Κύπρῳ, ἔνθα Τεῦκρος ἀπάρχει).

Die einzige Stelle in den uns erhaltenen griechischen Texten, an der ausdrücklich gesagt wird daß Teukros das zyprische Salamis nach seiner Heimat benannt hat, ist E. Hel. 148 ff., wo Teukros den richtigen Kurs erfahren möchte ἐς γῆν ἐναλίαν Κύπρον, οὗ μ' ἐθέσπισεν οἰκεῖν 'Απόλλων ὄνομα νησιωτικὸν Σαλαμῖνα θέμενον τῆς ἐκεῖ χάριν πάτρας — und daß Eustathios dieses euripideische Stück gelesen hat, scheint durchaus möglich: vgl. v.d. Valk 1, LXXXVII ff. (§ 93). 2, XLVIII (§ 158).⁵

Am besten ist es aber wohl, Eustathios' Bemerkung zu den Fällen zu rechnen in denen er ein uns unbekanntes mythographisches Handbuch benutzt hat: vgl. v.d. Valk 1, CIX (§ 111), 2, LXXVI (§ 165).

II. 353, 18 f. ὁ δὲ γεωγράφος λέγει καὶ ὅτι "Ἰδη τὸ ὄρος μέχρι Λεκτοῦ καθήκει. V.d. Valk identifiziert dieses Zitat mit 13,1,5 p. 583 C., wo es heißt (583,13 ff.6) ἡ "Ἰδη ... ἐσχάτους ἀφορίζεται τούτοις τῷ τε περὶ τὴν Ζέλειαν ἀκροτηρίῳ καὶ τῷ

4 Siehe Anm. 2.

5 Der Bemerkung des Eustathios am nächsten kommt Pompeius Trogus bei Iustin. 44,3,2 *post finem Troiani belli ... Cyprum concessisse atque ibi urbem nomine antiquae patriae Salaminam condidisse*. Bei der ohnehin umstrittenen Quellenfrage verbietet sich indessen jede Spekulation über die griechische (und womöglich noch von Eustathios gelesene) Quelle, auf die dies zurückgeht.

6 Siehe Anm. 2.

καλουμένῳ Λεκτῷ. Die wirkliche Stelle, auf die Eustathios sich bezieht, ist jedoch 13,1,2 p. 581, 15 f. πάντων δὲ τούτων ὑπέρκειται ἡ "Ἰδη τὸ ὄρος μέχρι Λεκτοῦ καθήκουσα.

Zu der bei Homer B 828 genannten Stadt 'Αδράστεια schreibt Eustathios (II. 355,15 ff.): περὶ ταύτης ὁ τῶν 'Εθνικῶν γραφεὺς λέγει ὅτι μετὰ Πριάπου καὶ Παρίου τοῦ κατὰ Προποντίδα, ἐν ᾧ βωμὸς θεᾶς ἄξιος κατὰ τὸν γεωγράφον σταδιαίας ἔχων πλευράς, 'Αδράστεια πόλις ἀπὸ 'Αδράστου βασιλέως, ὃς πρῶτος ἰδρύσατο Νεμέσεως ἱερὸν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἡ χώρα 'Αδράστεια. οἱ δὲ 'Αδράστειαν τὴν πόλιν κληθῆναι ἀπὸ 'Αδραστείας, μιᾶς τῶν 'Ορεστιάδων νυμφῶν. ἔστι δὲ, φησι, καὶ τόπος Τρωάδος 'Αδράστεια ἀπὸ 'Αδραστείας θυγατρὸς Μελίσσου υἱοῦ "Ἰδης τῆς πρῶτον βασιλευσάσης ἐν Τροίᾳ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὗτος συμφωνήσας τῷ Στράβωνι ἐν πολλοῖς.

Dazu merkt v.d. Valk an: "περὶ ταύτης – ἐν Τροίᾳ Steph. Byz., M. 28,3-12 - decurt. et mut. ordine et verbis. Eust. ipse adi. τοῦ κατὰ Προποντίδα et ἐν ᾧ βωμὸς – πλευράς, quod partim (ἐν – ἄξιος) e Strab. C 588 (= 13,1,13) est depromptum. Verba σταδιαίας – πλευράς e Strab. C 487 (10,5,7) sunt hausta." Damit ist aber erstens das, wie mir scheint, ganz klare Anzeichen dafür ignoriert daß Eustathios hier einen vollständigeren Text des Stephanos von Byzanz (ὁ τῶν 'Εθνικῶν γραφεὺς) als den auf uns gekommenen vor sich hatte (was für mehrere andere Stellen in seinem Kommentar bereits gesichert ist: siehe v.d. Valk 1, LXVI ff. [§ 83 f.]): der abschließende Satz καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὗτος συμφωνήσας τῷ Στράβωνι ἐν πολλοῖς kann doch nur bedeuten, daß das Vorhergehende ganz aus Stephanos stammt und höchstens gekürzt und anders formuliert ist, aber auf keinen Fall selbständige Zutaten des Eustathios aus anderen Autoren (am wenigsten aus Strabon) enthält.

Der Abschnitt des Stephanos, um den es hier geht, lautet in der uns erhaltenen Epitome C 28,4 ff. Meineke⁷): 'Αδράστεια: μετὰ Πριάπου καὶ {τοῦ deleui} Παρίου, ἀπὸ 'Αδράστου βασιλέως, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος ἰδρύσατο {τὸ deleui} Νεμέσεως ἱερὸν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἡ χώρα 'Αδράστεια καὶ 'Αδραστείας πεδίου (Holstenius: πέδον codd.), καὶ ἡ πόλις οὕτως. Διογένης ἐν πρώτῃ (περὶ add. Holstenius) Κυζίκου (F Gr Hist 474 F 1) φησὶν ἀπὸ 'Αδραστείας κεκληθῆναι, μιᾶς τῶν 'Ορεστιάδων νυμφῶν. τὸ ἔθνικόν 'Αδραστεύς: οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι 'Αδραστηνός, ὡς Κυζικηνός, φασίν. ἔστι καὶ Τρωάδος 'Αδράστεια τόπος, ἀπὸ 'Αδραστείας θυγατρὸς Μελίσσου τοῦ "Ἰδης τῆς πρῶτον βασιλευσάσης ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὡς Χάραξ 'Ελληνικῶν δευτέρᾳ (F Gr Hist 103 F 1). Hierin sind μετὰ Πριάπου – ἱερὸν und ἐκαλεῖτο – πεδίου Entlehnungen aus Strabon, vgl. Strab. 588, 5 ff.⁸ φησὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης (F Gr Hist 124 F 128) ἀπὸ 'Αδράστου βασιλέως, ὃς πρῶτον Νεμέσεως ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο, καλεῖσθαι 'Αδράστειαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις μετὰ Πριάπου καὶ Παρίου, ἔχουσα ὑποκείμενον πεδίου ὁμώνυμον und 588,3 ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἡ χώρα αὕτη 'Αδράστεια καὶ 'Αδραστείας πεδίου. Von dem berühmten Altar in Parion dagegen, zu dem Stephanos nach Eustathios Zeugnis Strabon zitierte, ist in der uns erhaltenen Epitome nicht die

7 Für Bestätigung von Meinekes Angaben danke ich Margarethe Billerbeck, Fribourg.

8 Siehe Anm. 2.

Rede: der Schluß scheint unausweichlich daß dies, mit Angabe der Quelle, noch in Eustathios' Stephanostext stand.

Nach v.d. Valks *adnotatio* ginge nun diese Mitteilung über den Altar im Prinzip auf dieselbe Strabonstelle zurück und wären nur die Worte σταδιαίας ἔχων πλευράς aus einer anderen Strabonstelle (10,5,7 p. 487 C.) hinzugefügt worden. Ein Vergleich beider Stellen zeigt jedoch daß die Mitteilung über den Altar ausschließlich auf letzterer Stelle beruht (auf die außerdem auch das von v.d. Valk dem Eustathios zugeschriebene τοῦ κατὰ Προποντίδα zurückgeht): 588,10 f. ψκοδομήθη ἐν τῷ Παρίῳ βωμός, 'Ερμιοκρέοντος ἔργον, πολλῆς μνήμης ἄξιον κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος, 487 (684, 30 ff. Meineke: die Zeilenzahl der neuen Ausgabe steht noch nicht fest) ὑπὸ δὲ Παρίων ἐκτίσθη θάσος καὶ Πάριον ἐν τῇ Προποντίδι πόλις ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν ὁ βωμός λέγεται θέας ἄξιος, σταδιαίας ἔχων τὰς πλευράς.

Zu Homer B 856 f.

αὐτὰρ 'Αλιζώνων 'Οδῖος καὶ 'Επίστροφος ἦρχον
τηλόθεν ἐξ 'Αλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλας

bemerkt Eustathios (Il. 363,11 ff.): τὸ δὲ 'ἐξ 'Αλύβης' 'ἐξ 'Αλύβων' τινὲς γράφουσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ 'ἐκ Χαλύβων', ἄλλοι 'ἐξ 'Αλόπης' ἢ κατὰ Μενεκράτην 'ἐξ 'Αλόβης', ἔτι δὲ καὶ 'ἐκ Χαλύβης'. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα αἰτιᾶται ὁ γεωγράφος, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς εἰπόντας περὶ Πύγελαι εἶναι τοὺς 'Αλιζώνους μεταξὺ 'Εφέσου καὶ Μαγνησίας.

Eustathios schöpft hier (ebenso wie in dem Folgenden) aus dem langen Exkurs über die Identifizierung der homerischen 'Αλιζωνες/'Αλιζωνοι, den Strabon anlässlich der früher Χάλυβες genannten Χαλδαῖοι in seine Beschreibung von Pontos eingelegt hat (12,3,20-27, p. 549-555 C.) In diesem Exkurs erwähnt Strabon die Konjekturen ἐξ 'Αλόπης und ἐξ 'Αλόβης zum ersten Mal am Anfang von § 21 (550, 9f.⁹) οἱ μὲν μεταγράφουσιν 'Αλαζώνων', οἱ δ' 'Αμαζώνων' ποιοῦντες, τὸ δ' 'ἐξ 'Αλύβης' 'ἐξ 'Αλόπης' [ἢ add. Korais] 'ἐξ 'Αλόβης' (Holstenius coll. Eust.: ὁλόης codd.). Aufgrund von Eustathios' oben zitierter Wiedergabe 'ἐξ 'Αλόπης' ἢ κατὰ Μενεκράτην 'ἐξ 'Αλόβης' hat neuerdings Lasserre (Strabon. *Géographie*. Tome IX [Livre XII] ..., Paris 1981,83), angenommen daß bei Strabon nicht nur ein ἦ ausgefallen ist, sondern danach auch noch die Worte ὡς Μενεκράτης zu ergänzen seien. Das ist allein schon deshalb kaum wahrscheinlich weil Strabon kurz darauf dieselbe Konjektur irgendwelchen Ungenannten zuschreibt [550,17f. ἢ δὲ 'Αλύβη ἢ ὡς τινες, 'Αλόπη ἢ 'Αλόβη): außerdem zeigt die wegwerfende Art, in der er über all diese Textänderungen redet, daß ihre Herkunft ihn überhaupt nicht interessiert. Eustathios' κατὰ Μενεκράτην ist vielmehr ein Autoschediasma des Erzbischofs aufgrund eines späteren Passus in Strabons Exkurs, wo es heißt (552,4 ff.): ὁ ... Παλαίφατος (F Gr Hist 44 F 4) πρότερον μὲν 'Αλόπην οἰκεῖν φήσας (sc. τοὺς

9 Siehe Anm. 2.

'Αλιζώνους), νῦν δὲ Ζέλειαν, οὐδὲν ὅμοιον λέγει τούτοις: εἰ δ' ἄρα ὁ Μενεκράτης (FGH 2,342) (sc. τὸ αὐτὸ λέγει¹⁰), οὐδ' οὗτος τὴν 'Αλόπην ἢ 'Αλόβην ἢ ὅπως ποτε βούλονται γράφειν φράζει ἥτις γέ ἐστιν: auch hier bleibt die Urhebererschaft der Konjektur ἐξ 'Αλόβης unbestimmt; da Strabon aber diese Konjektur hier im Zusammenhang mit Menekrates erwähnt und das daneben genannte ἐξ 'Αλόπης bereits aus Ephoros und Palaiphatos zitiert hat (550,20 ff. 551,6 f. 552,4 f.), hat Eustathios geschlossen daß ἐξ 'Αλόβης eine Konjektur des Menekrates war.

Il. 459,37 ff. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς (sc. ὁ γεωγράφος) λέγει καὶ ὅτι 'Ιλιέων κώμη, ἔνθα ἡ παλαιὰ 'Ιλιος, τριάκοντα σχεδὸν σταδίων ἀνωτέρω πρὸς τὴν ὕστερον, εἰ καὶ 'Ιλιεῖς φιλοδοξοῦντες ἤθελον ταύτην εἶναι τὴν παλαιάν. V.d. Valk führt dies zurück auf Strab. 13,1,35 p. 597 C. — wo es heißt (597,24 ff.¹¹) ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου (sc. τοῦ ἀνέχοντος) μικρὸν ἢ τῶν 'Ιλιέων κώμη ἐστίν, ἐν ᾗ νομίζεται τὸ παλαιὸν 'Ιλιον ἰδρῦσθαι πρότερον, τριάκοντα σταδίους διέχον ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως — und versucht zu erklären weshalb Eustathios Strabons διέχον ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως durch ἀνωτέρω πρὸς τὴν ὕστερον ersetzt hat. In Wirklichkeit hat Eustathios seine Bemerkung aus 593,9 ff. geschöpft, wo Strabon sagt: οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἰδρυσεν (sc. Πίος) τὴν πόλιν (das alte Ilion) ὅπου νῦν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν τι τριάκοντα σταδίοις¹² ἀνωτέρω πρὸς ἔω καὶ πρὸς τὴν 'Ιδην καὶ τὴν Δαρδανίαν κατὰ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην 'Ιλιέων κώμην. οἱ δὲ νῦν 'Ιλιεῖς φιλοδοξοῦντες καὶ θέλοντες εἶναι ταύτην (das moderne Ilion) τὴν παλαιάν παρεσχέκασιν λόγον τοῖς ἐκ τῆς 'Ομήρου ποιήσεως τεκμαιρομένοις.

Zu was für Pannen es führen kann wenn man nicht auf Eustathios' Quellen zurückgeht, zeigt seine Bemerkung zu Hom. ι 3f. (Od. 1612,36 ff.) 'Αναξήνορος .. τοῦ Μάγνητος γραπτὴ τις ... ἦν εἰκὼν ἔχουσα εἰς αἰδοῦν τινα ἐπίγραμμα τὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐπιφωνηθέντα τῷ αἰδῶ ἔπη. Hieraus hat man ohne weiteres auf die Existenz eines sonst nirgends bezeugten Malers Anaxenor geschlossen, der sogar auch mit einem, wenn auch natürlich kurzen, Artikel in der RE vertreten ist (s.v. Anaxenor [2], 2081,36 ff.). Dieser Maler verflüchtigt sich aber in nichts bei Lektüre von Eustathios' Quelle Strab. 648, 15 ff.¹³, wo Strabon erzählt daß es von dem berühmten Kitharoden Anaxenor aus Magnesia am Mäander nicht nur ein gemaltes Bild auf der Agora sondern auch eine bronzene Statue im Theater von Magnesia gab, auf deren Basis die beiden Homerverse ι 3f. standen¹⁴ (zu Eustathios' Ungenauigkeiten beim Zitieren vgl. v.d. Valk 1, LVI f. [§ 67]. 2,XXIII [§ 144]). Der RE-Artikel ist denn auch, nach fast 40 Jahren, in RE Suppl. 5,1,37 ff. widerrufen worden.

Zu der Erwähnung der Insel Lesbos bei A. Pers. 883 bietet der Parisinus gr. 2785 (C Turyn, O Dindorf) fol. 82^r folgendes Scholion (494,13-24 Dindorf [dessen

10 Aus οὐδὲν ὅμοιον λέγει zu entnehmen: vgl. Kühner-Gerth 2,566.k.

11 Siehe Anm. 2.

12 Das ist der richtige Kasus! Eustathios' σταδίων muß ein Versehen sein.

13 Siehe Anm. 2.

14 Die Basis hat man 1891 im Theater von Magnesia gefunden (Syll.³ 766).

Angaben über die Lesarten der Handschrift sich bei einer Kontrolle in der Bibliothèque Nationale als korrekt erwiesen haben]): Λέσβος πόλις Αἰολική, μητρόπολις δὲ τῶν Αἰολικῶν πόλεων, περίμετρον ἔχουσα θ' ("imo, αρ' " Meineke, *Vindicium Straboniarum liber*, Berolini 1852, X) σταδίων, μεταποιοιμένη τῆς Ὀρφέως κεφαλῆς· ἐκεῖ γὰρ φασιν (Dindorf: φησιν C) μετὰ θάνατον αὐτὴν λαλοῦσαν προσενεχθῆναι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐμυθεύθη διὰ τὸ ἀρίστους ἐκεῖ καὶ μετὰ Ὀρφέα (scripsi [cf. Eust. infra allatum l.4]: — ἕως C) γενέσθαι ἀνδρας λογίους· ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος καὶ Πιττακὸς (Dindorf: -ανὸς C) καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς Ἀλκαῖος (Dindorf: ἀλκίαιος C) καὶ ἡ Σαπφώ, θαυμαστόν τι (Dindorf: τινα C), φασί, γυναικὸς χρῆμα, πρὸς ἣν οὐδεμία (Dindorf: οὐδὲ α' C) γυνὴ ἐφάμιλλος εἰς ποίησιν ἦν. ἦν δὲ πεντάπολις ἡ Λέσβος, ἔχουσα ([μίαν] [i.e. α']? cf. Eust. infra allatum l.8) τῶν ε' τὴν Λέσβον, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ νῆσος Λέσβος ἐλέγετο, ἐκ τοῦ μέρους λαχοῦσα τὸ ὄνομα, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν Μιτυλήνη λέγεται ἡ αὐτὴ ἀπὸ πόλεως ὁμωνύμου μῖα ἐκείνων τῶν ε'· τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ λόγῳ (Dindorf: λεγ() C) καὶ Λυκόφρων αὐτὴν Ἴσσαν ἐκάλεσε· μία γὰρ καὶ ἡ Ἴσσα τῆς αὐτῆς πενταπόλεως.

Meineke a.a.O. meinte, ein byzantinischer Grammatiker habe dies alles aus Strabon 616/7 C. geschöpft. Und in der Tat lesen wir dort Einiges was sich, mehr oder weniger modifiziert, in unserem Scholion wiederfindet: 616,26 f.¹⁵ σχεδὸν δὲ τι μητρόπολις ἡ Λέσβος ὑπάρχει τῶν Αἰολικῶν πόλεων, 616,32 οὗσης ... τῆς περιμέτρου σταδίων χιλίων ἑκατόν, ἦν ἡ σύμπασα ἐκπληροῖ νῆσος und 617,21 ff. συνήκμασε δὲ τούτοις (sc. Pittakos, Alkaios, Antimenidas) καὶ ἡ Σαπφώ, θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα· οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν ἐν τῷ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ τῷ μνημονευομένῳ φανεῖσάν τινα γυναῖκα ἐνάμιλλον οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐκείνη ποιήσεως χάριν — von allem Übrigen dagegen keine Spur. Die unmittelbare Quelle des Scholions ist denn auch nicht Strabon, sondern Eustathios' Kommentar zu dem Periegeten Dionysios V. 536 (GGM 2,323,1-16; der folgende Text nach eigener Kollation von Mikrofilmen der Handschriften BCDQR¹⁶):

- μητρόπολις δὲ τῶν Αἰολικῶν πόλεων ἡ Λέσβος, περίμετρον ἔχουσα χιλίων [ἑκατόν] σταδίων, μεταποιοιμένη τῆς τοῦ Ὀρφέως κεφαλῆς· ἐκεῖ γὰρ φασί μετὰ θάνατον αὐτὴν λαλοῦσαν προσενεχθῆναι. τοῦτο
- 4 δὲ ἐμυθεύθη διὰ τὸ ἀρίστους ἐκεῖ καὶ μετὰ Ὀρφέα γενέσθαι ἀνδρας λογίους· ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος καὶ Πιττακὸς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς Ἀλκαῖος καὶ ἡ Σαπφώ, θαυμαστόν τι, φασί, γυναικὸς χρῆμα, πρὸς ἣν οὐδεμία γυνὴ ἐνάμιλλος εἰς ποίησιν. ἦν δὲ πεντάπολις ἡ Λέσβος,
- 8 μίαν ἔχουσα τῶν πέντε τὴν Λέσβον, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ ὅλη νῆσος Λέσβος ἐλέγετο, ἐκ τοῦ μέρους λαχοῦσα τὸ ὄνομα, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν Μιτυλήνη λέγεται ἡ αὐτὴ ἀπὸ πόλεως ὁμωνύμου μῖα ἐκείνων τῶν πέντε· τῷ

15 Siehe Anm. 2.

16 Aubrey Dillers Untersuchungen ('The Manuscripts of Eustathius' Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes', Anhang zu Diller 1975, 181-207) haben eine völlig neue Grundlage für den Text dieses Kommentars geschaffen. Die dringend benötigte neue Ausgabe wird außer auf dem von Diller entdeckten Vaticanus R (auf den die Mehrzahl der erhaltenen Handschriften zurückgeht) vor allem auf den Handschriften ABCDQ beruhen müssen. — Der hier edierte Passus steht auf folgenden Folien: B 191^v. C 133^r. D 37^v/38^r. Q 60^r. R 142^r/^v.

δὲ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ Λυκόφρων (220) αὐτὴν Ἴσσαν ἐκάλεσε· μία γὰρ
12 καὶ ἡ Ἴσσα τῆς αὐτῆς πενταπόλεως.

- 2 add. Bernhardt 3 φησι C 4 γίνεσθαι B 5 ἦν Ἀρίων καὶ ὁ M. C.; ποιητὴν B 8 sq. ἐλέγετο Λέσβος C 9 τοῦνομα R 10 ὦμα - C 11 λυφρων B

Zu Dion. Per. 875 bemerkt Eustathios (GGM 2,372,1-10; der folgende Text nach eigener Kollation von Mikrofilmen der Handschriften BCDQR¹⁷): λέγονται (-εται BRⁱ) δὲ Σόλοι κατὰ τινὰς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ῥοδίων κτίσμα τὴν τοιαύτην πόλιν φασί. τούτων οἱ πολῖται οὐ Σόλιοι (Holstenius: σόλοι codd.) ἀλλὰ Σολεῖς. φασί δὲ καὶ τὸν σολοικισμόν ἐντεῦθεν (ἐνταῦθα C) λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς ἀνδρῶν ποτε Ἀττικῶν οἰκησάντων (οἰκί- C) ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν εὐγενὴ παρακοπέντων Ἀττικὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ ἐξαγοικισθέντων διὰ τὸν ἐν Σόλοις οἰκισμόν· ὅθεν καὶ πάντας τοὺς τοιοῦτους σολοίκους λέγεσθαι, ὅ ἐστι βαρβάρους, κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Σόλοις οἰκήσαντας. εἰσὶ δὲ Σόλοι (σόλιοι B) καὶ περὶ (παρὰ Q) Κύπρον, ὧν οἱ πολῖται Σόλιοι λέγονται.

Müller bezieht φασί δὲ κτλ. auf Strab. 663 C., wo es jedoch lediglich heißt (663,5f.¹⁸) τὸ σολοικίζειν, εἴτ' ἀπὸ Σόλων εἴτ' ἄλλως τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου πεπλασμένου. Eustathios' viel detailliertere Angaben müssen auf eine andere Quelle zurückgehen, und diese ist auch leicht anzugeben: bei Diogenes Laertios (dessen Werk Eustathios kannte, wie mehrere Stellen seines Homerkommentars bezeugen: vgl. v.d. Valk 1, CV [§ 105]) lesen wir in dem Abschnitt über Solon (1,51): ἐκείθεν (sc. vom Hofe des Kroisos) ... ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἐγένετο ἐν Κιλικίᾳ καὶ πόλιν συνώκισεν, ἦν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Σόλους ἐκάλεσεν. ὀλίγους τέ τινες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγκατόικισεν, οἱ τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν φωνὴν ἀποξενωθέντες σολοικίζειν ἐλέχθησαν. καὶ εἰσιν οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν Σολεῖς, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Κύπρου Σόλιοι. Hier findet sich nicht nur die Mitteilung über die athenischen Kolonisten, deren Attisch allmählich verdorben wurde, sondern auch die unsinnige Rückführung des Namens der Stadt auf Solon, mit der auch Eustathios' Bemerkung anfängt (und die Strabon nirgends erwähnt). Dann stammen aber auch Eustathios' Angaben über das zyprische Soloi und den Unterschied der Ethnika (τούτων οἱ πολῖται οὐ Σόλιοι, ἀλλὰ Σολεῖς und εἰσὶ δὲ Σόλοι καὶ περὶ Κύπρον, ὧν οἱ ποδῖται Σόλιοι λέγονται) ebenfalls aus Diogenes Laertios und nicht, wie Müller zu der letzteren Bemerkung angibt, aus Strabon 683 C. (der dort [683,31] auch nur zu dem zyprischen Soloi bemerkt οἱ δ' ἐνοικοῦντες Σόλιοι καλοῦνται und nichts über die gleichnamige kilikische Stadt und ihr Ethnikon sagt).

Während sich somit die beiden Verweise auf Strabon, die Müller hier gibt, als falsch herausstellen, hat er dagegen ein Element in diesem Abschnitt übersehen das wirklich auf Strabon zurückgeht; das ist der Satz οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ῥοδίων κτίσμα τὴν τοιαύτην πόλιν φασί, wo mit οἱ δὲ Strabon gemeint ist: vgl. Strab. 671,27f. Σόλοι ..., Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ῥοδίων κτίσμα τῶν ἐκ Λίνδου.

17 Vgl. Anm. 16. — Der hier edierte Passus steht auf folgenden Folien: B 204^v. C 152^v. D 51^v. Q 83^r. R 161^v.

18 Siehe Anm. 2.

ZITIERTE LITERATUR

- DILLER 1975: A. Diller, *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography ...*, Amsterdam 1975.
 ERBSE 1950: H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*, Berlin 1950 (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1949, 2).
 GGM: Carolus Müller (Hg.), *Geographi Graeci minores*, Paris 1855-61.
 NICKAU 1984: Klaus Nickau, Rezension der ersten drei Bände des v.d. Valk, in: *Gnomon* 56 (1984) 691.
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PSELLOS'S IMPERIAL COCKTAIL, OR ON MIXING VIRTUES

Henk Schoonhoven

What associations did Michael Psellos intend to suggest to his reader when he characterized the Byzantine Emperor as a κρατὴρ πάσης ἀρετῆς?¹ Even allowing for the hyperbole of panegyric effusions the bold image must have been striking: here, the traditional canon of virtues, the almost hackneyed catalogue of imperial excellences had been fused into a 'mixing-bowl of the whole of virtue'.² Bold expressions used to praise a person for his combination of virtues have their own tradition. The *Consolatio ad Liviam* presents one of the earliest traceable for us. When the anonymous poet laments and praises Drusus, the deceased son of Livia, he exclaims (vv. 79-82):

*multi in te amissi, nec tu, tot turba bonorum,
 omnis cui virtus contigit, unus eras,
 nec genetrice tua fecundior ulla parentum,
 tot bona per partus quae dedit una duos.*

In his discussion of the poet's style and language Richmond (1981, 2770f.) remarks: "*turba bonorum* used to mean (79) 'a host of good qualities', not 'a crowd of good men', seems rather clumsy" — and in a note he adds: "Perhaps a bold hyperbole could explain *tu, tot turba bonorum* as 'you, a host of so many good men (sc. in yourself)', but we should merely substitute one oddity for another." There are at least two considerations which make it implausible that we take *tot*

1 Vid. Sathas, *Mes. Bibl.* V, p. 229: Ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ στρατιῶτα καὶ στρατηγέ, καὶ πᾶν εἴ τι ἄλλο ὑπέρλαμπρον ὄνομα, ὃ κρατὴρ πάσης ἀρετῆς, ὅση πολιτικὴ καὶ ὅση στρατηγικὴ, ὃ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ πολίταις καὶ στρατιώταις etc. (Sathas suggests we should read Romanos Diogenes for Alexius Comnenus).
 2 On this meaning of πᾶσα ἀρετὴ see further below.

turba bonorum here as equivalent to 'a crowd of good men'. In the first place, from v. 79b the transition is to virtues: *nec tu ... omnis cui virtus contigit, unus eras*.³ Secondly, it is hard not to see v. 82 *tot bona* as parallel to v. 79 *tot ... bonorum*. But there is more to be said on this subject. Two other panegyric addresses, though of a later date,⁴ offer a parallel for the remarkable encomiastic qualification "a host of good qualities". Claudian, in his Panegyric on Mallius, characterizes his addressee as a *sincera bonorum congeries*.⁵ The second instance comes from Gregory of Nyssa who, in his funeral oration on the Empress Placilla states: "Ἦνεγκεν ... ἡ φύσις ... ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν ἐν γυναικείῳ σώματι ..., ἐν ᾗ πᾶσα μὲν σώματος, πᾶσα δὲ ψυχῆς ἀρετὴ συνδρομοῦσα, θάυμα ἄπιστον ἔδειξε τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ζωῇ, πόσων ἀγαθῶν συνδρομὴν μίξ ψυχῇ ἐν ἐνὶ ἐχώρησε σώματι.⁶ From this it is evident that *turba bonorum, congeries bonorum, συνδρομὴ ἀγαθῶν* all vary the concept of 'a combination of good qualities'.⁷

Combination is one thing, mixing goes a step further: Κρᾶσις ἐστὶν οὐσῶν ἀλλήλαις ἑτεροῖων συνδρομὴ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὰς ποιοτήτων ἀντεμβολή (Joh. Damasc., *Dialect.* 65).⁸ At the level of the virtues this notion of blending occurs as well: in the same funeral oration Gregory of Nyssa laments in an enumerative manner Placilla's distinctive virtues only to subsume them in the concluding exclamation (ἀφῆρέθη) ἡ σύμμικτος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἁρμονία.⁹ In his 'Meditations' the emperor Marcus Aurelius credits his Stoic model, the philosopher Claudius Maximus, for τὸ εὐκράτον τοῦ ἥθους καὶ μελίχιον καὶ γεραρόν.¹⁰ It is within

3 The words *nec tu ... unus eras* serve to prepare the reader for the inclusion of Drusus' brother Tiberius in the poet's *descriptio mortis*.

4 In my edition and commentary of the *Consolatio ad Liviam* I argue for A.D. 54 as the date of publication (Schoonhoven 1992, 22-39).

5 *Cam.* 17,135f. (ed. Hall p. 134): *tum sic diva prior: 'Malli, sincera bonorum / congeries, in quo veteris vestigia recti / et ductos video mores meliore metallo etc.*

6 Cf. *PGM* 46,881B. In fact συνδρομὴ ἀγαθῶν ('a combination of good qualities') occurs already in Strabo 5,3,7: τῇ δ' ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῆς χώρας οἰκείας γενομένης ἐφάνη συνδρομὴ τις ἀγαθῶν ἅπασαν εὐφύιαν ὑπερβάλλουσα.

7 If our poet chose *turba* instead of e.g. *concursum* or *complexio* (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 25: *quinque artium concursus*; *Tusc.* 5,28: *cumulata bonorum complexio*) the reason may lie in the potentialities for oxymoron implied in *turba*, which can also denote (depending on its context, of course) a small number of persons: three, two or even one (cf. Zwieler 1986, 96). Of course, this is not to argue for *turba bonorum* = *turba bonorum hominum*: the poet just stresses the notion of *quantity* in the single person of Drusus. A peculiar expression (even to the point of oddity) occurs in *Cam. Epigr.* 1110,6 where the deceased uses the self-characterization *res numerosa: corpore in exiguo res numerosa fui* (Bücheler: "i. multarum artium, ut Burmannus recte cepit.").

8 Vid. *PGM* 94, 664B.

9 Loc. cit. (cf. n. 6) 884B.

10 I 15. The concept of εὐκράσια also played a role in the Stoic theories about physical and mental health: cf. Von Arnim, *Stoic. Vet. Fragn.* III p. 68 nr. 278 ὥσπερ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑγίειαν εὐκράσιαν εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι θερμῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν καὶ ὕγρων οὕτω καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὑγίειαν εὐκράσιαν εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ δογμάτων (cf. also Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 30). The concept occurs further in connection with climate and temperature, cf. *LSJ* s.v. In Latin, "*temperare* and its compounds represent the Greek κρανύνειν, κρᾶσις, etc.; they imply not simply mixture, but just the right mixture" (Nisbet-Hubbard ad Hor. *Cam.* 1,12,16). The semantics of *temperies* have not yet been sufficiently explored, but that *temperies* (like *temperatio*) may also imply εὐκράσια is evident from such expressions as *temperies caeli* (Sen. *Nat.* 2,11,2; 5,18,13; Claudian. *Bell. Gild.* 152; *Rapt. Pros.* 1,263; Mart. *Cap.* 1,17; 6,659) and *intemperies animi* (Sen. *Dial.* 9,2,7; Gell. *Noct. Att.* 18,7,4); cf. also *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* (Goetz) VII s.v. *temperies*.

this concept of a harmonious blend that Psellos's κρατήρ also has to be set down.

In the image of κρατήρ πάσης ἀρετῆς, the underlying notion of εὐκράσια precludes any emphasis on the single ingredients: it is the fulness of the resulting ἀντεμβολή, the σύμμικτος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἁρμονία, which constitutes the Emperor's exemplary function. Hence, πᾶσα ἀρετὴ here does not mean 'every virtue' but 'the whole of virtue', a meaning already current from classical times onward.¹¹ Plato's attempt to understand the four cardinal virtues as aspects of one, all-embracing ἀρετὴ had been worked out by the Stoics.¹² Already in the oriental Hellenistic treatises on kingship the concept of the king's ἀρετὴ played a fundamental role: "Hier ist der König auf Erden nicht geringer an ἀρετὴ als Gott, der König im Himmel. Wie er von diesem geformt wurde, ist auch seine Tugend Gottesgeschenk. ἀρετὴ umfasst hierbei alle möglichen Tugenden und bedeutet zuletzt καλοκάγαθία" (Adams 1970, 51). Romanos Diogenes's ἀρετὴ manifests itself in two fields, viz. the 'civilian' and the military: ὅση πολιτικὴ καὶ ὅση στρατηγική — recalling the age-old Roman *arma et toga*.¹³ "Durch diese Tugend [viz. καλοκάγαθία] unterscheidet sich der König von den übrigen Menschen, die ihn als Typ des καλοσκοπάθους imitieren" (*ibid.*); "Durch Betrachtung des ἥθους βασιλικῷ werden die Untertanen bewogen, besser zu handeln" (*ibid.* n. 29, referring to Xenophon's *Oec.* 21,10).

But a mixing-bowl is not for looking at, its function is to impart its contents to smaller cups, and here, in the concreteness of the κρατήρ-image, lies Psellos's striking and refreshing innovation after one and a half millennia of panegyric tradition for which the 'ideal blend of the virtues' had become a commonplace. Citizens and soldiers together form the society over which the emperor rules; that

11 Cf. Dover 1974, 68f.: "As we would expect in dealing with unsystematized values, there is more than one way of looking at the same phenomena. Side by side with *aretē* in a highly specific sense and 'positive' *aretē* contrasted with 'negative' *sōphrosynē* we find the expression *pāsa aretē*, which can be interpreted either as 'every virtue' or 'the whole of virtue'; the latter is on the whole preferable, since the plural *aretai* was used to mean 'occasions or manifestations of valour', and Greek said 'the parts of virtue' (e.g. Isok. VIII 32) in cases where we would say 'the virtues'." In *Cons. ad Liv.* v. 80 *omnis cui virtus contigit* the meaning of 'the whole of virtue' is apparent too, creating a contrast to v. 83 where the plural *virtutes* is used in the sense of 'manifestations of virtue': *heu, par illud ubi est totidem virtutibus aequum?*; see also the next note.

12 Cf. Wehrli 1950, 79. Also Eisenhut 1973, 68: "In *Tusc.* 3,17 stellt Cicero klar, dass alle *virtutes* miteinander verbunden sind. So erscheint neben der Vielzahl von *virtutes* auch immer die eine, allumfassende *virtus*. Die *virtus* ist in diesen Fällen abstrahiert von den einzelnen *virtutes*, sie ist mehr als die bloße Summe von *virtutes* (wie τὸ ἀγαθόν mehr ist als die Summe von ἀγαθά und ἡ ἀρετὴ mehr als die Summe von ἀρεταί) [...] Immer bedurfte Cicero der einen ἀρετῇ-virtus zur Verdeutlichung insbesondere der stoischen Lehre, der er nicht ganz abgeneigt war ..."; *ibid.* 140 n. 410: "Die Verwendung des Plurals *virtutes* zeugt nicht von der Vorstellung einer Vielzahl von Tugenden. *virtutes* sind bei Seneca ausschliesslich Emanationen der einen *virtus* ..."; *ibid.* 144: "Es ist unbestreitbar: Der 'Weise' hat nicht eine Vielzahl unterschiedlicher 'Tugenden', er hat auch nicht die (vier) 'Kardinaltugenden', er hat nur die *virtus* an sich als eine und einzig mögliche. Alle Äusserungen des 'Weisen' in Wort und Tat sind Äusserungen der *virtus*. Mögen seine Handlungen den anderen als *virtutes* erscheinen [...] sie sind doch nichts weiter als Ausflüsse der einen *virtus* — [...] Sie kann auch nicht vermehrt oder vermindert werden."

13 The combination became popular from Cicero onward; cf. *ThLL* II 559, 16-20. *Cons. ad Liv.* v. 79f. *tu, tot turba bonorum / omnis cui virtus contigit* implies v. 14 where Drusus is styled *maximus ille armis, maximus ille toga* (cf. Schoonhoven 1992, 6-8).

society is here represented as a symposium of friends, whose companionship is sealed by sharing the wine out of the common vessel in which the perfect proportions of ethical conduct are integrated. The emperor's next qualification as a κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ πολίταις καὶ στρατιώταις¹⁴ confirms that concept: the harmony of his soul, when shared by all the citizens, perfects the harmony of the friendly symposium, which is Psellos's ideal society.

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14 For the singular ἀγαθόν cf. Eisenhut 1973, 68 (quoted in n. 12).

OBELISKS BETWEEN POLYTHEISTS AND CHRISTIANS: JULIAN, *EP.* 59.

Garth Fowden

Julian's letter 59 (Bidez-Cumont) "to the Alexandrians" perfectly illustrates the ambiguous religious situation in the mid-fourth century. It deserves to be used and quoted alongside the same writer's much better-known *ep.* 79, describing his visit to Pegasus, the crypto-polytheist bishop of Ilium (Troy). *Ep.* 59 also throws light on the history of the obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople, and on Constantine's plans to adorn both Rome and Constantinople with obelisks from Egyptian Thebes.

Julian is writing from Constantinople in late December 361 or early January 362, apparently before he heard the disturbing news of the murder of bishop George on 24 December (*ep.* 60; Weis 1964, 109). He has learnt that there is an obelisk lying on the beach at Alexandria, thrown down "in a completely ignominious state" (ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων ἐρριμένον). The fourth century still knew enough about polytheist Egyptian tradition to realize that obelisks had been "consecrated as a special gift to the Sun God": the phrase is from Ammianus Marcellinus (XVII.4.12). Julian himself alludes later in his letter to the sacred character of the obelisk; and it has recently been argued that when in 357 Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, as Prefect of Rome, erected what is now the Lateran obelisk in the Circus Maximus, he oriented it with careful regard to its imagery and solar symbolism (Ragona 1984, 127-8; see also Dagron 1974, 333-4, esp. n.3). So there can be no mistaking Julian's first barb, against the person responsible for dumping the obelisk on the beach in the first place — of whom more below — and against the Alexandrians who fail to accord it due respect.

Our letter then recalls how its author's predecessor Constantius had built a special ship to take the obelisk to Constantinople; but death had supervened. The city now demands that Julian finish the job. The claim is a strong one: "[Constantinople] is my native place, and more akin to me than to him [Constantius]; for he loved it as a sister, whereas I love it as a mother." So Julian proposes, with no

trace of humour, a 'fair exchange': a 'colossal' bronze statue of himself in return for the obelisk. After all, the obelisk is only of stone, not bronze, and its sole decoration is 'Egyptian inscriptions' — a disingenuous but not unreasonable point, since by this time few could read hieroglyphics, and the Alexandrians had anyway never seen themselves as part of Egypt (Fowden 1986, 20, 63-5). Julian's determination to have his obelisk is underlined by his two concluding arguments, both of them so inept that they are almost taunting.

Firstly, Julian observes that the tip of the obelisk is treated with great reverence by local people, who go and sleep by it, presumably in the hope of a cure.¹

That fully convinces me that we must, on account of this superstition, take the obelisk away. For those who see the people who sleep there, and all the filth and licentiousness there is in that place, do not believe that it [the obelisk] is divine, and believe less in the gods because of the superstition of its devotees.

Julian's point is that educated polytheists in the Alexandrian city council should be embarrassed by the crudity of their co-religionists, and the disrepute they bring on the old gods; but also, implicitly, that the Christians of Alexandria should be shocked by this open exhibition of polytheist belief. Though Julian was himself regarded as excessively superstitious by the likes of Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII.12.6-8, XXV.4.17), he here displays — unless he is being totally cynical in his pursuit of the obelisk — a lack of sympathy for ordinary people's piety which is anyway implicit in the style of his theological writings. Arnaldo Momigliano maintained that fourth- and early fifth-century polytheist historians closed ranks in the face of Christianity and refused to "maintain the traditional distinction between religion and superstition" (Momigliano 1975, 78-84). He quoted Eunapius as an example, but passed over Eunapius's treatment of the wonders performed by the Platonist philosopher Iamblichus (*V. Phil.* V.1-2). Iamblichus's followers were for ever pestering him to do miracles and quizzing him about the transfigurations he was said to experience when praying alone. His response varied from tolerant to supercilious, but Eunapius makes clear (with apparent approval) that Iamblichus felt himself above the sort of piety that had to be nourished in this way. Once, when asked to perform a miracle at the hot springs at Gadara, he summoned two spirits from the water, but could not resist pointing out that such behaviour was 'impious'. This and the evidence of Julian's *ep.* 59 suggests, at the very least, that Momigliano's arguments are inapplicable beyond the narrow circle of historical writers. Iamblichus and Julian maintain traditional superciliousness about ordinary people's piety.

Secondly, Julian argues that the Alexandrians should be happy to send the obelisk to Constantinople because it will remind them of home when they visit the capital and because, since they anyway feed the Constantinopolitans (with their corn), they may as well contribute to the city's 'external adornment' as well. Granted the resentment widely felt in the cities of the Greek East against Con-

stantine's upstart foundation (*Lib., or.* I.279, XXX.37; *Zos.* II.31-2), which had become such a drain on their taxes, works of art and rich men, enticed away to become Constantinopolitan senators, Julian's arguments seem provocative. One cannot resist the impression that Julian did not like the Alexandrians very much, even before they called down his wrath by murdering bishop George without due trial. Not of course that Julian was sorry to see the end of a particularly pestilent priest — as he freely admits in *ep.* 60. And of course he felt great reverence for Alexandria 'the holy city', the home of Serapis (*ep.* 60. 378d, 379c; cf. *ep.* 111). But the Christians of Alexandria had become too powerful and arrogant, as Julian was to point out in *ep.* 111; and there were few things more calculated to enrage Julian than a city that resisted his polytheist restoration,² whose only hope of success lay in the co-operation of the urban elites. *Ep.* 59 is a classic statement of fourth-century mixed feelings — of polytheists about Christians and Christians about polytheists, of educated polytheists about their simpler co-religionists, and of the old Greek East, provincial and proud of it, about an empire which in Constantinople had hit on the perfect Trojan Horse for conducting its policy in the East, and which was now ruled by an emperor who prided himself on Hellenic culture and polytheist faith, yet proclaimed filial affection for a city that was Roman and Christian.

Bronze statues, even colossal ones, travel more easily than obelisks, and Julian's not only duly arrived, but was still inspiring fear in Alexandrian Christians in the 460s (Raabe 1895, 73). The obelisk, though, stayed put. We do not know when exactly it finally reached Constantinople, but it is generally and reasonably held to be the same one that was eventually erected on the *spina* of the Constantinople hippodrome in the year 390, and is now known as the obelisk of Theodosius. An obelisk was apparently regarded as indispensable to the decor of this hippodrome, which was modelled on the Circus Maximus.³ Initially and provisionally — exactly when is not known — a built obelisk was provided, the predecessor of what is today called the obelisk of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Wrede 1966, 187-8; Dagron 1974, 324). Constantius attempted to provide a real obelisk; so did Julian. Both failed. Most scholars assume, on the strength of Julian, *ep.* 59, that the obelisk on the beach at Alexandria was brought there from its original home by Constantius. But Julian does not actually say that.

One is reminded, in this context, of the story of the obelisk that today stands in the Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano, the same obelisk that Constantius had Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus erect in the Circus Maximus to mark his triumphal visit to the city in 357. Constantius had brought the obelisk from Alexandria, where for many years previously it had lain on the beach. It had been left there by Constantine, who took it from the temple of Amun at Karnak, got it as far as Alexandria, and then died (*Amm. Marc.* XVII.4; Fowden 1987). The obelisk of Theodosius was also from the temple of Amun at Karnak (Bruns 1935, 21;

1 On the significance of the obelisk-tip, see Iversen 1968, 16-8.

2 E.g. *Soz., H.E.* V.4, on Cappadocian Caesarea.

3 *Chron. Pasch.* 1.528; Wrede 1966, 184-5, and cf. 186 for the identification of Theodosius's obelisk with the one discussed by Julian.

Porter-Moss 1972, 171). I have elsewhere suggested that the reason Constantine sent Nicagoras, the torch-bearer of the Eleusinian Mysteries, to Thebes c. 326, as we learn from graffiti scratched by Nicagoras or at his behest in the tomb of Ramses VI in the Valley of the Kings, was to negotiate the removal of the Lateran obelisk (Fowden 1987). We should now add the smaller obelisk of Theodosius to his shopping list,⁴ and also, as I argue in another article (Fowden 1991), a porphyry column, which was sought at Thebes but eventually found at Rome, and became the famous porphyry column that stood at the centre of the circular forum at Constantinople. The difficulty of Nicagoras's mission is underlined by these new suggestions; and the need for the diplomatic skills and connections of a senior Athenian cleric becomes all the more apparent. We are also helped to understand the mechanics of Constantine's grandiose plan to adorn his new capital with the spoils of the polytheist East.

After their journey down the Nile, quite possibly in the same vessel, the two obelisks arrived at Alexandria together.⁵ We may suppose that one was earmarked for the Circus Maximus in Rome, the other for its rival and imitator, the hippodrome at Constantinople.⁶ They were easy to tell apart, since the giant Lateran obelisk, today the tallest surviving specimen, measures 32.15 m., and the obelisk of Theodosius only 19.59 m. — it was originally almost as tall as the Lateran obelisk, but seems to have broken before it left Thebes (Wrede 1966, 187 n.49, 191 n.64). On the base that was provided in 357 for the taller obelisk in its new home, the Circus Maximus, an inscription proclaimed that

His father's achievement and benefaction Constantius Augustus... bestowed on you, O Rome... His parent, wishing this monument to adorn the city that bears his name, cut and tore it from the Theban rock... (Dessau, I.L.S. 736)

In other words, Constantine had originally intended the Lateran obelisk for Constantinople — indeed, it has been maintained that *both* obelisks were originally destined for the New Rome (Wrede 1966, 188, 198). But Ammianus Marcellinus, in his account of the Lateran obelisk (XVII.4.13), maintains that Constantine intended it for Rome. In my earlier article I argued that Ammianus was right and Constantius was bluffing to impress the Romans (Fowden 1987, 53-5). Others have held that Constantius was right (e.g. Dagron 1974, 310 n.2). It can now be seen, or at least maintained, that both the inscription and Ammianus are right. Constantine did indeed intend one of the two Theban obelisks for Rome. In view

4 Weis 1964, 110-11, already perceived that Constantine may have removed both the obelisks, intending one for Rome and the other for Constantinople. But Weis was wrong to assume that they were a pair: the Lateran obelisk stood in the first instance between the fifth and sixth pylons, and subsequently between the Amun-temple's rear wall and the eastern gate of the sacred enclosure; the obelisk of Theodosius stood before the south front of the seventh pylon. Nor did Weis fully consider the implications of Constantius's inscription, and of its divergence from Ammianus's account: see below.

5 On transportation of two obelisks in one boat under Thutmose I and Hatshepsut see Clarke-Engelbach 1930, 38-40 and fig. 39; Köster 1934, 1-10.

6 On the Constantinople hippodrome's imitation of the Circus Maximus, see *Chron. Pasch.* 1.528 (Dindorf); Preger 1901-7, 145.

of his obsession with his new capital, it will have been the shorter one. Constantius decided to give Rome the taller one, which was also, unusually, a single obelisk rather than one of a pair; and in this limited sense he reversed Constantine's intention. Ammianus mentions the erection of the Roman obelisk because it seems relevant to his account of the year 357; but since his narrative ends in 378, he has nothing to say about the Constantinopolitan obelisk put up in 390, around the time at which Ammianus most probably completed his history (Matthews 1989, 17-27). Indeed, he knows so little, if anything, about the Constantinopolitan obelisk that he gives the impression that Constantine removed only one obelisk from Thebes, an impression that is not contradicted by Constantius's inscription. In similar fashion Ammianus refers to the Alexandrian Serapeum as if it is still functioning, without any allusion to its destruction in 391 (XXII.16.12; Matthews 1989, 26).

There is both continuity and change in late antique attitudes to obelisks. They continued to be symbols of imperial omnipotence. The Pharaohs of ancient Egypt had prided themselves on erecting them; Augustus prided himself on removing them to Rome; and still in the fourth century, in the case of both the Rome and the Constantinople obelisks, an immovable object was moved to celebrate legitimacy's triumph over usurpation — by Magnentius and Magnus Maximus respectively (Wrede 1966). But the obelisk's religious function changed. Uprooted from their homes, they could still be the object of reverence on the beach at Alexandria. Even in exile, an obelisk might be understood by some as the Sun's manifestations (Fowden 1987, 55; Ragona 1984, 127-8). But such lore will increasingly have been confined to scholars (Dagron 1974, 333-4, esp. 333 n. 3). Probably the Constantinople obelisk's cosmic symbolism was already less widely appreciated, at the time of its erection, than its Roman counterpart's, the majority seeing it primarily as a token of empire. In the late antique travels of obelisks we can also observe emperors ever eager to score points off each other — Constantius off Constantine for being insufficiently devoted to Old Rome, Julian off Constantius for not being a true son of New Rome. Most interestingly of all, the history of the Roman and Constantinopolitan obelisks reveals how strong the spell of Old Rome remained, especially over Constantius (Dagron 1974, 310-1). It seems to have been only towards the end of his reign that Constantius became more than lukewarm about Constantinople (Dagron 1974, 77-86) — which doubtless made it easier for Julian to express his attachment to the place, something this studiously *philopolis* emperor had to do, even if his *patris* was Christian. In 389 Theodosius imitated Constantius's Roman triumph of 357, but reserved the obelisk that commemorated it for Constantinople. In so doing he both scored a point off a predecessor in time-honoured fashion (Wrede's suggestion, 1966, 82), and made a significant innovation, which along with the anti-polytheist laws of 390-1 pointed unambiguously to the emergence of a fully Christian empire.

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PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE *PHILOPATRIS*

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It has long been a matter of dispute whether the dialogue *Philopatris*, written sometime in the Byzantine age but transmitted under Lucian's name, has an anti-Christian or on the contrary an anti-pagan tendency or even, as Barry Baldwin would have it, has as its purpose to mock both sides (Baldwin 1982, 343). In fact, both religions are covered, the Christian Triepho expressing his disgust at the pagan gods' conduct, and the pagan Critias mocking the Christian mysteries which Triepho imparts to him. However, there can be no doubt that the author essentially takes a Christian stand. Whereas all main figures of the Greek pantheon are satirized page after page (ch.4-11), the timid joking about the arithmetic aspects of Trinitarianism is suppressed immediately (ch.12), and the pagan, who had begun by swearing *νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν αἰθέριον* (ch.4), in the end switches over to *νῆ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἐκ πατρὸς* (ch.18).

Thus there is clearly a loyalty to Christian belief involving a rejection of pagan religion. On the other hand, the dialogue shows a marked predilection for the literary forms of expression of classical Greece at the expense of the style of the Greek Bible. It brims with quotations from classical authors such as Homer, Euripides and Aristophanes or fake quotations after their manner, both in the words of Triepho and of Critias; the author's special model is Lucian, who, if belonging to a later period, has so strong an affinity with classical literature. This preference brings with it that our author in describing Biblical matter avoids using the vocabulary of Scripture. To take two examples from the Creation narrative: *Gen.* 1,11 *καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου* he renders by *γῆν δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἐκαλλώπισεν* (ch.13), unable to resist the temptation to evoke a *locus amoenus*. And where *Gen.* 1,16 has simply *καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός ... τοὺς ἀστέρας*, he refines and details: *ἀστέρας ἐμόρφωσεν ἀπλανεῖς, πλάνησι δρόμον διετάξατο* (ch.13). A further aspect of this is his reluctance to refer to Biblical persons by name. When dealing with Christ, Paul,

Moses, and Christians, he invariably uses paraphrases (cf. on this Norden 1958, Nachträge, 6-7). Thus formulating in his own words the events of Creation he refers to Moses's account in Genesis with the words *ὡς ὁ βραδύγλωσσος ἀπεγράψατο* (ch.13). To be sure, the word *βραδύγλωσσος* occurs in *Exod.* 4,10 to describe Moses's speech impediment and hence is an exception to his rule of avoiding Biblical words. On the other hand, it is a hapax legomenon in the Greek Bible and an extremely rare term in any case,¹ which could pass for a classical Greek word in the same way as the fake quotations could be held to be utterances of classical poets. In its clearness, moreover, it was eminently suited to play the role of a *kenning*.

Can this picture of our anonymous writer as a Christian by conviction, a Hellene by taste be upheld? There are three passages which seem to resist this. The first of them is the one already alluded to, namely Critias's amazement at being initiated into the mystery of the Trinity (ch.12). After Triepho has rejected every god proposed by Critias as a candidate to swear by, Critias exclaims in despair: "And by whom *shall* I swear?" Triepho answers by solemnly declaring that he should consider the triune God as his god. His wording is idiosyncratic: God the Father is described in "a hexameter line after the manner of Homer or Hesiod",² the Son and the Holy Spirit have their designations reminiscent of the Creed of Constantinople; next there is a studiously enigmatic mention of the mystery of the Trinity, after which Critias, in an Euripidean verse line also quoted by Lucian, is called on to think this "his Zeus":

'Υψιμέδοντα θεόν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα,
υἱὸν ἐκ πατρός, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρὸς πορευόμενον, ἔν ἐκ τριῶν καὶ ἐξ
ἐνὸς τρία,
τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.

Critias's reaction, in a Lucianic vein, is irresistibly funny:

'Αριθμέειν με διδάσκεις, καὶ ὕρκος ἡ ἀριθμητική· καὶ γὰρ ἀριθμέεις ὡς
Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασινός. οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τί λέγεις, ἔν τρία, τρία ἔν. μὴ
τὴν τετρακτὺν φῆς τὴν Πυθαγόρου ἢ τὴν ὀγδοάδα καὶ τριακάδα;

As already stated, his interlocutor gives short shrift to this lightheartedness, and the conversation does not return to the incident.

The second passage is in ch.17, where Critias is made to wonder with the same innocence as in ch.12 how the deeds of all men, including the Scythians, can

¹ According to Boulluec-Sandevour 1989, ad loc., the word "est bien attesté dans des textes profanes", but LSJ 1968, s.v., mention only *Exod.* 4,10, our *Philopatris* passage and *Cat. Cod.Astr.* 2,167.

² Macleod 1967, 436 n.1 (cf., however, Anastasi 1967, 116-7 on the text constitution). Baldwin 1982, 331 takes the hexameter as referring to God. "Then comes a reference to the Trinity, with its components painstakingly spelled out." In that interpretation, however, God the Father would be conspicuous by His absence.

be inscribed in the heavenly books.³ Πολλούς γε γραφέας ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ φῆς, he concludes, ὡς ἅπαντα ἀπογράφεσθαι.⁴ In this case Triepho feels called upon to refute Critias's fallacies, with immediate result and to the latter's heart-felt gratitude.

Nevertheless, the mockery or, to take it seriously, the blasphemy in these passages has maintained its place in the text. How are we to explain it? Of course it is possible to quote sacrilegious statements as long as it is clear that the responsibility for them rests with God's enemies, the classical example being "The fool has said in his heart, 'There is no God!'" (*Ps.* 14,1; 53,1). This must also be the case in the *Philopatris*; and it is up to our personal assessment whether we suspect the author to have taken a hidden pleasure in making his characters speak as they do.

There is, however, a third passage, whose satire (if such it is) we cannot attribute to the malice of opponents, because it is the Christian Triepho himself who is speaking. He is describing his conversion to Christianity in these words (ch.12):

ἡνίκα δέ μοι Γαλιλαῖος ἐνέτυχεν, ἀναφаланτίας, ἐπίρρινος, ἐς τρίτον
οὐρανὸν ἀεροβατήσας καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκμεμαθηκώς, δι' ὕδατος ἡμᾶς
ἀνεγέννησεν, ἐς τὰ τῶν μακάρων ἵχνια παρεισώδευσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν
ἀσεβῶν χώρων ἡμᾶς ἐλυτρώσατο.

The 'Galilean' meant here can be no other than St. Paul, as is clear from the mention of his ascent to the third heaven, cf. *2 Cor.* 12,2. But does the description show the respect we are to expect of a confirmed Christian like Triepho? First of all, Paul is referred to as a Γαλιλαῖος. This is a term for 'Christian', but, as Baldwin remarks, "according to Lampe, it is invariably used in a hostile fashion. A curious term, then, for Triepho to employ — unless, that is, the author was intending to ridicule the Christians." (Baldwin 1982, 332). Furthermore, why should the Apostle be depicted with a receding hair-line and a big nose? Finally, the description of his visit to the third heaven by means of the very term *ἀεροβατεῖν*, which Aristophanes used to make fun of Socrates,⁵ is hardly likely to make us believe in the sincerity of Triepho's admiration. So the Christian himself seems to share in the derision of his religion, and Baldwin would be right in stating that

³ For this concept, which occurs e.g. in *Rev.* 20,12, cf. Koep 1952 (our passage is discussed on pp. 38, 45, 50).

⁴ A parallel from Latin patristics is Minucius Felix ch.10, where the pagan interlocutor is sketching God as a busybody: *Deum illum suum, quem nec ostendere possunt nec uidere, in omnium mores, actus omnium, uerba denique et occultas cogitationes diligenter inquirere, discurrentem scilicet atque ubique praesentem: molestum illum uolunt, inquietum, inpudenter etiam curiosum, siquidem adstat factis omnibus, locis omnibus intererrat, cum nec singulis insensire possit per uniuersa districtus nec uniuersis sufficere in singulis occupatus.*

⁵ Aristophanes *Clouds* 225 and 1503 (both times Socrates is speaking) ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον; cf. Anastasi 1968, 88. Plato makes Socrates come back to it in *Apology* 19c: in Aristophanes's comedy you saw Σωκράτη τινὰ ἐκεῖ περιφερόμενον φάσκοντά τε ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ ἄλλην πολλὴν φλυαρίαν φλυαροῦντα.

"the purpose [of the dialogue], in so far as it may be said to have one, is simply to mock both" paganism and Christianity.

Yet such a conclusion is incompatible with the facts already stated: the unrestrained censure of the pagan gods over against the innocent ironizing of the Christian God, an ironizing which stops as soon as the pagan has been fully instructed and is converted. In addition, nowhere except here is there the slightest trace of mocking at Christianity in Triepho's words. So let us examine whether the supposedly ironical elements may be interpreted in an other way.

Γαλιλαῖος is an unfavourable term for Christian in Epictetus and especially Julian, but not in the New Testament; in any case the "two men in white" of *Acts* 1,10 do not hesitate to address Jesus's followers as ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, and they are certainly not mocking. Neither is there deprecation in the use of the term in Malalas 10,245,18; 10,247,5; 11,273,9 and in the *Suda* s.v. Χριστιανοί.⁶ And our author's model Lucian nowhere uses the term, not even in the *Nigrinus*. Paul's physical features ask for a threefold comment. First, it is far from clear that baldness and a big nose must be seen in a simple way as signs of ugliness. Second, even if our author did intend to give an unflattering picture, he may have had the same purpose as Plato had in the *Symposium* (215ab.216d-217a), where he made Alcibiades compare Socrates with "the Silenus-figures that sit in the statuary shops ... : when their two halves are pulled open, they are found to contain images of gods". Finally, and most importantly, Paul's physical description as given here has a long tradition. It is perceivable for the first time in the late second century in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 3 and survives till at least the fourteenth century; nowhere does it serve to ridicule him.⁷ It remains to discuss the term ἀεροβατεῖν. It is unmistakable that in classical literature this word is famous for its ludicrous depiction of Socrates's activities. That is not to say, however, that this association was still self-evident in later times. Lampe's *Greek Patristic Lexicon*, this time not consulted by Baldwin, mentions two usages for the word: "1. lit.; of Christ's Ascension ... 2. met., of spiritual ascent." It should be added that the word occurs also in ch. 24 of the *Philopatris*, and that in a metaphorical sense which has little to do with Socrates and nothing with St. Paul (Baldwin 1982, 332-3). I conclude therefore that there is no need whatsoever to read satire into the term in the passage under discussion. Rather the author sticks to his habit of formulating Biblical events in terms as different from those of the Bible as he can make them.

In summary, ironical treatment of Christianity in the *Philopatris* is only allowed to the ignorant non-Christian; the idea that the work contains mockery of Christianity by a Christian turns out to be without foundation.

6 Cf. Karpp 1954, 1131; Bertram-Klauser 1972, 802-3; Anastasi 1968, 87; Scicolone 1982; Carrara 1986.

7 Cf. Fürst 1902, 381; 407-412; Grant 1982. For parallels cf. also Schotel 1852; Rohde 1914, 160-2.

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THE MESSIAH AND THE MAHDI
HISTORY PRESENTED AS THE WRITING ON THE WALL

Andrew Palmer

Introduction

In the *Arabian Nights* a magic formula causes a stone door to swing open, revealing a passage into an unsuspected mountain cavern. The Latin, Syriac and Armenian inscriptions at Ehresh on the Euphrates¹ seem to make this widespread folk-tale dream come true. Whether in the still theatre of the Roman quarries, looking eastward over the river, where pied nightingales nest and sing on the cliffs of amber-weathered limestone, or under the old pistachio-tree which grows inside the ruined Syrian church of St Sergius, above the clear spring near the burial caves, or even in the partially troglodyte village itself, built like the treads of a giant stairway on the southern shoulder of the outcrop, the traveller reaches out in the dark room of the past to feel the silent faces there, interpreting, so far as touch alone enables him, their somewhat inscrutable expressions.²

Since the late nineteenth century Jean-Baptiste Chabot, Henri Pognon, Franz Cumont, Jörg Wagner and Hansgerd Hellenkemper have visited and described the village and the church of Ehresh. In 1989 the Euphrates-Tigris Reconnaissance Project, under the directorship of Dr Guillermo Algaze, visited the site and on that occasion Dr Christopher Lightfoot photographed the Syriac inscription on the south façade of the church. It was his communication with me on this subject that prompted me to go there myself, with my wife, in 1990. On April 8th, a man from Nizip, called Hüseyin, kindly accompanied us to the great

¹ Identified by some with Arulis on the *Peutingeriana tabula*.

² The present paper has been improved by discussion or correspondence with Sebastian Brock, Larry Conrad, Geert Jan van Gelder, Robert Hoyland, Hubert Kaufhold, Lia van Midden, Gerrit Reinink, Irfan Shahīd, Tom Sinclair and Michael Whitby and by the suggestions of those who attended my talk on the subject at the 'wetenschapsavond' of the Groningen University Department of Greek and Latin, held at Stefan Radt's house on May 1st, 1990.

rock dome of Zeugma, to the tunnelled Roman roads and the cave-tombs, to Ehresh itself with its fertile riverside fields and orchards, and to the impressive canyon above Halfeti, at the end of which Rumkale can be seen. At Hüseyin's intercession the village-head of Ehresh (in Turkish: 'Gümüşgün') showed us the place where the spring had bubbled up in the bed of the dry ravine, until it was capped and piped to the village, and told us an interesting fact about the villagers: the 'yellow-skinned ones' traced their descent to the refugees from the Balkan wars, whereas the 'dark-skinned ones' were autochthonous.³

Migration between this part of Turkish Syria and the Balkans forms a *Leitmotiv* in the inscriptions of Ehresh. The first such migration recorded is that of the Fourth Scythian Legion of the Roman empire, which had its camp in Moesia on the Danube until it was transferred to the Euphrates frontier in c.56/57 BC. A bugler and a standard-bearer of this legion are among those task-force members who immortalised their names on the quarry-faces just north of Ehresh. From there the legionaries transported stone by river to Seleucia on the Euphrates (Zeugma) in order to build their camp and the nearby bridge.⁴ The god most intimately addressed in these quarry-inscriptions is 'Silvanus Conservator'. Cumont has several paragraphs on the significance of these dedications for the history of ancient religion. He also suggests that the church of St Sergius may have been built on the site of a shrine of Silvanus honouring the numen of the spring, at ten minutes walk from the village.⁵

A Syriac inscription on the southern outer wall of the side-chapel of the church faces towards this spring. It concerns, amongst other things, another migration, this time from Turkish Syria to the Balkans. In 777 the Jacobite (Syrian Orthodox)⁶ population from the Vale of Mar'ash⁷ was deported by an invading force of Byzantines; the Christian emperor regarded them as heretics and forcibly resettled them in Thrace. The inscription attributes the plight of these refugees to the sins of the author and his readers, an expression of solidarity which indicates that the latter were also Jacobites. What it does not say is that this deportation followed the forcible resettlement of Syro-Byzantine Christians⁸ from the Vale of Mar'ash, which was on the Byzantine-Arab border, to al-Ramla in Palestine.

3 I went to Ehresh again in June 1992, driven by Hanna Kandemir, with a grant from the Groningen Faculty of Arts; on this second visit I was able to take measurements, read the East Wall Inscription and photograph the Armenian graffiti.

4 More precisely, the ramps to which the pontoon-bridge was attached.

5 Hellenkemper gives the distance as c. 500 metres; he also says that the villagers call the ruin Hıdır İlyas. His statement that the dedication was transferred by the Armenians to St George is mistaken; St George is not mentioned in the literature, except by Chabot, who could not remember whether the patron saint was George or Sergius.

6 'Syrian Orthodox' and 'Jacobite' are synonyms, both referring to those Syrian Christians who developed their separate identity as a Church in opposition to the Byzantine position as defined at the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451).

7 Kahramanmaraş in modern Turkish, Germaniceia to the Byzantines.

8 These were the 'Chalcedonian' opponents of the Jacobites, also known as 'Melkites', from the Syriac word for 'emperor', i.e. those who regard the Byzantine emperor's dogmatic position as correct.

Mar'ash was to experience further deportations. Events during the First World War all but deprived eastern Turkey of its rich Armenian culture. Until then, life in Mar'ash had been strongly coloured by its Armenian population (see, for example, Kerr 1973). Ehresh, too, when it was visited by Chabot, Pognon and Cumont (between 1897 and 1907), was almost entirely populated by Armenians, in contrast to the surrounding villages. Cumont witnessed, on 19 May, 1907, a celebration of the Eucharist in the ruined church and a festive picnic of the villagers by the spring. One of the many Armenian graffiti in the church appears to include the date 1904.⁹ Did the villagers have any inkling of the dangers that lay ahead of them? Some may have adopted Islam and so have become the ancestors of the 'black-skinned' inhabitants of the present village. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a group of 'yellow-skinned' Muslim refugees from the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 were eventually compensated for their losses with the property of the dispossessed Armenians of Ehresh.

What had created the empty space into which the Armenians themselves had moved, when they had first come to live in this formerly Syrian Jacobite village, has yet to be investigated. The demographic shift from Syrian to Armenian in the upper Euphrates area was already well advanced in the Crusader period. In consequence of this shift, the Syrian Orthodox patriarchs themselves abandoned the Euphrates and moved eastwards, settling eventually near Mardin. These developments would suggest that the Syrian villagers of Ehresh migrated by choice, in order to be nearer to the centre of their political community, inviting Armenians, their close cousins in the Faith, to buy their houses. Rumkale, meanwhile, a few miles upstream from Ehresh on the same bank of the Euphrates, had become the see of an Armenian patriarch. Thus the interests of the Syrians and the Armenians may have coincided in this exchange, while it was a comfort to both parties that the village, with its immovable churches and its tombs, remained in Christian hands.

We have begun with a wide-angle shot, panning the events which have linked the Balkans to south-east Anatolia throughout history: in Antiquity, when the Euphrates was an international frontier; in the Middle Ages, when the frontier had moved a little further to the west and to the north; and in the early twentieth century, when a series of wars produced the present configuration of frontiers and populations in what had been the Ottoman empire. In what follows we shall zoom in on the village of Ehresh itself and bring sharply into focus the two Syriac inscriptions on the church of St Sergius outside the village. The first has been noticed, but not published. The second has been published, but wrongly translated. These two inscriptions provide a complex enigma in a distinct historical context and an 'Open Sesame!' to the mental world of a village in the early Middle Ages. The second inscription is a unique example of symbolic chronography in epigraphic form. As Baumstark observes, it shares a family likeness with the so-called *Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum domini 724* (Baumstark 1922, 274 n. 3; cf. Palmer 1992, and Palmer 1993, text No. 2).

9 I have photographed a number of these graffiti and hope to ensure that they are published.

The paper consists of a number of special investigations, each of which is presented separately. After reconstructing the architecture of the church and explaining its function (1), I shall describe the inscriptions engraved on it, beginning with that on the east wall (2). The investigation of the South Wall Inscription (3) will be subdivided as follows: i. description; ii. analysis of the letter-forms, including a comparison with the letter-forms of the East Wall Inscription; iii. transcription; iv. translation; v. philological notes; vi. chronographical notes; vii. conceptual elucidation; viii. literary background. Readers without Syriac may wish to take the more technical sections as read, but the last three sections are designed specifically for them. After this an exegesis of both inscriptions in their archaeological context will be attempted (4). Reference is made throughout to the bibliography (5), which is subdivided as follows: a. primary sources; b. secondary literature; c. articles in the new *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Section 1 is illustrated in Figures 1 and 2, Section 2 in Figures 3 and 4, Section 3 in Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8. Figures 9 and 10 contain a hand-written edition of the East Wall and the South Wall Inscriptions. Figure 11, at the end, shows a sketch-map of Turkish Syria.

1 The Church of St Sergius at Ehresh

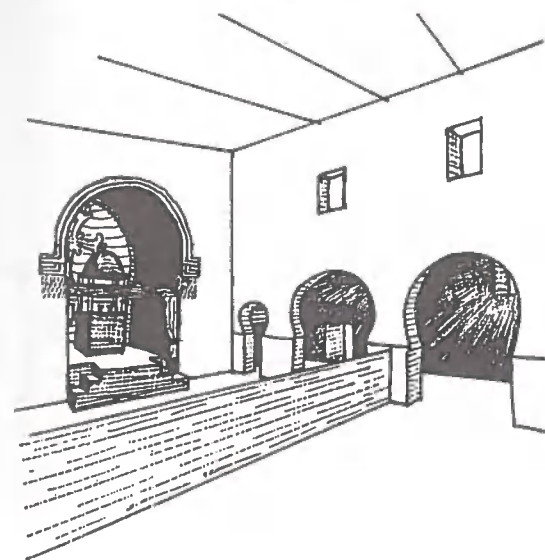
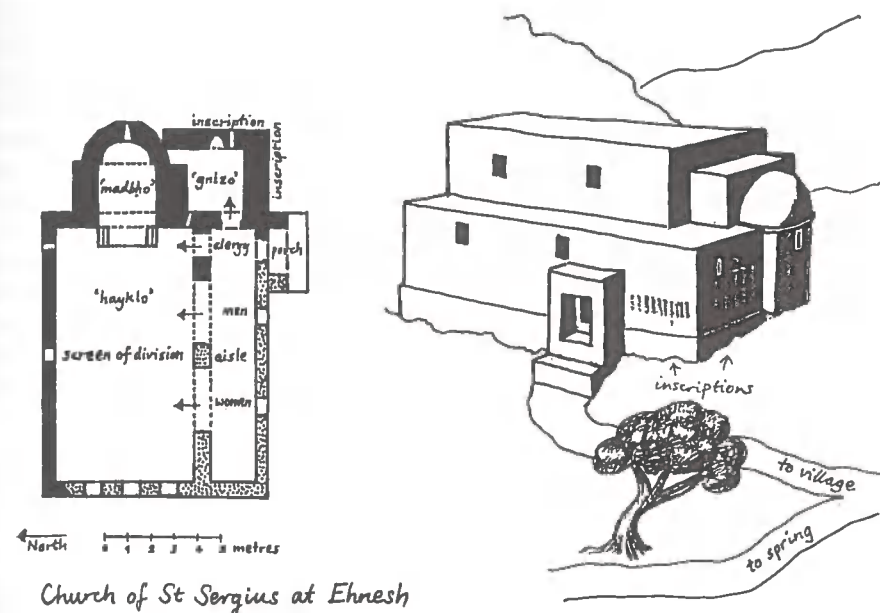
The church of St Sergius at Ehresh is a curious building, constructed entirely of squared, and occasionally carved, limestone with no apparent use of cement or iron. The north wall of the nave (or hayklō), which was more than ten metres long, survives to some height. The masonry technique is unusual. Instead of regular horizontal courses the ashlar is laid now vertically, now horizontally, creating a pattern reminiscent of the infilled grid of a timber-and-brick wall.¹⁰ There is one long and one short vertical window on the north side and there may have been more which have been blocked up with stone.

The east end of the nave has its oddities, too. In the centre of the wall is a semicircular arch with plain mouldings, which are continued horizontally at the base for a short space to north and south; beneath the base of the arch on either side is a square capital, carved with vertical fronds in four superimposed registers. This last seems to be an unskilled imitation of the late-antique acanthus motif, but without its spreading leaves. The arch would be unremarkable, but for the fact that the base, instead of resting directly on the capitals, is placed on top of two stones with slightly different plain mouldings, which seem to have formed the base of an earlier arch. It is possible that the church was built with spolia from an earlier building, the original capitals of which were damaged and had to be replaced by a poor imitation. Between the two fronded capitals a thick wooden beam was fixed, as can be seen from the square holes on either side; on this beam the curtain of the sanctuary must have been suspended.

¹⁰ Indeed, the vertical gaps along the bottom of the wall may originally have contained wooden posts.

Fig. 1. The church of St Sergius at the spring of Ehresh.

A) Plan (based on Hellenkemper's measurements and photographs and on the author's own observations, whereby the dotted parts are conjecturally restored); B, C) artist's impressions from within (view to south-east) and from without (view to north-west); D) the plan (adapted from Gertrude Bell) of the church of St Cyriac, martyr, at 'Urdnus (Arnas) in Tūr 'Abdin, a typical Jacobite village-church of about the eighth century.



Arnas, Mar Cyriacus

The sanctuary itself (or *madbhō*) is small. It consisted of two elements: a stone vault continuing the curve of the arch and resting on a moulded cornice; and a conch, forming a round apse with an arch slightly smaller than the arch of the vault and a single slit-window in the centre of its wall. The apse is now partially destroyed (Hellenkemper's photograph shows the window), but one can still see that it was heptagonal on the outside. Inspection of the apse from within and from without suggests that the floor was raised, as we should expect (the steps in fig. 1A and B are conjectural). The whole church is built on ground sloping down towards the south and the floor of the nave may have been partially excavated from the hill. Those parts of the church on the lower side, which have yet to be described, are built on a platform which projects a little further than the walls above it, forming a clear ledge (see Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. The south-east angle of the church of St Sergius at Ehresh (photo: A.N. Palmer, June 1992).

The sanctuary is flanked on the south by a vestry (in Syriac *gnīzō*) with a small arched niche in the thickness of the east wall. Next to this, on the south side, is a small slit-window, through which perhaps the priest could observe his flock as it approached the church from the village. This wall is extended northwards to meet that of the sanctuary, concealing part of the heptagonal exterior wall of the apse.¹¹ Against the inside of the south wall was built an inner wall of the same thickness. The vestry, it would seem, was vaulted like the sanctuary (though walled off square on the east instead of being rounded to an apse), and the thick wall on the south was necessary to buttress the vault. The north wall was built up against the south wall of the sanctuary, which acted as a buttress on that side. From the north-west corner of the vestry the priest could observe the congregation through another narrow slit in the wall of the nave. The vestry once had an entrance on the west, with a composite frame (*i.e.* the doorposts and lintel are not monolithic), which was distinguished by the plain mouldings visible on Hellenkemper's photograph. This door was at the centre of the east wall of the narrow south aisle from which the vestry was entered, but it was not exactly opposite the niche, which was at the centre of the east wall of the vestry. This was because the nave of the church left less space on the south for the aisle than the sanctuary left for the vestry.

The small horse-shoe arch at the east end of the nave, communicating with the aisle just to the south of the main sanctuary arch, enabled the priest and his deacons (the size of the sanctuary will have limited their numbers) to make their entrance from the vestry. Hellenkemper is mistaken in drawing a doorway connecting the sanctuary and the vestry directly with one another. The west side of the priest's entrance forms the eastern pier of a higher, slightly inward-curving arch, which pierced the south wall of the nave. This is another unusual feature of the building, from which Hellenkemper conjectures an arcade between the nave and the aisle (though the arches projected on his plan are too small). In fact there were probably only two big arches, one giving access to the eastern part of the nave, the men's section, while the other gave access to the women's section at the west. The fragment of moulded corbel projecting above the priest's entrance must originally have carried a horizontal beam which belonged to the roof of the aisle; it would thus indicate the height of the two entrance-arches. Some blocks of stone projecting from the south wall of the church, on the north-south line of the wall which divides the aisle from the vestry, might indicate an entrance porch on the south side, facing the spring. A porch in this position would have opened near the path from the village to the spring.

Jacobite village-churches were normally entered from the south, through a south aisle parallel to the nave, not from the west through an atrium or a narthex, as projected by Hellenkemper. The groundplan of the Jacobite church of St Cyriac at ʿUrdnūs in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is a reasonable model from which to reconstruct the church of St Sergius at Ehresh (fig. 1D).¹² Lack of space from north to south,

¹¹ Hellenkemper advances it too far to the east and to the north.

¹² Bell 1982, fig. 34; *cf.* Wiessner 1981-83, *passim*; on the dates of the village-churches of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, see Palmer 1990a, 212-3.

due to the sloping ground, may have necessitated a simplification of the classic design; but if the church of St Sergius was used on the feast-day of the martyr and on other appropriate occasions, but not at Easter, then the chamber to the east of the sanctuary, which was probably designed for the ceremony of the burial and resurrection of Christ, was not needed. There is no need to suppose there was an atrium on the west side, even if there was, as Hellenkemper states, an extension of the north wall of the nave to the west.

The niche in the vestry cannot really be described as an apse. The function of the side-chambers that often flank the sanctuary in Syrian churches has been investigated for the pre-Islamic period by Descoedres (1983, esp. 69-75). Like the examples discussed there, the side-chamber at Ehresh is likely to have served a number of different purposes, besides the obvious one of vestry; but it is distinguished from them by the ritual character of the niche backing onto the rising sun. Historians of liturgy may find this an important piece of evidence, for example in the discussion of the history of the ritual of Prothesis.

The function of the south aisle of a village church is discussed in my *Monk and mason* (Palmer 1990a, 135-6). In the church at ʿUrdnus there was probably a division in the aisle, as there was in the nave, into a men's and a women's section, with the women at the west. But the women did not have a separate entrance to the aisle, only a separate doorway from the aisle into the nave, so any fence between the sexes in the aisle must have had a door.

The men and the women coming to the church would have caught sight of the inscription on the outside east wall of the vestry from a distance; it was probably picked out in bright paint (cf. Palmer 1990a, 207). Those of the men who had been trained in singing the diurnal prayers would have read it without difficulty, because it consisted of well-known quotations from the Jacobite Book of Common Prayer. There would have been little time to linger over the more difficult inscription on the outside south wall before the service began, but after the service, when the men gathered to discuss the sermon and other matters, while the women prepared a feast for the martyr in the shade of the trees below the church, on the slope above the cleft in which the spring rises, the former would have had leisure to puzzle over its enigma and to ask the priest to explain its meaning.

2 The East Wall Inscription

This inscription was carefully laid out. At the top in the centre was engraved a kind of cross made of five overlapping circles, perhaps symbolic of the five wounds of Christ. Under this was a single line inscribed horizontally, which appears to have recorded the name of the mason who engraved the inscription. The order in which the five vertical lines of the inscription are arranged is symmetrical and can only be understood with reference to the 'cross-bar' formed by the horizontal line. Normally a vertical inscription in Syriac runs from above, with the second and subsequent lines to the right of the first. In this case the first vertical line appears to be that in the centre, the second half of Ps. 92, verse 15:

"They (i.e. those who fear God) shall be fat and comfortable!" The other vertical lines are all quotations from psalms and the only chance we have of restoring this one is to assume that it, too, is a psalm-verse. The concordance to the Syriac psalter offers no alternative to Ps. 92:15 (14), so I restore this, even though that means the SEMKATH must have contained an unusual angle. The second line is to the right of it, but the third is to the left of it, for these two lines are the first and second halves of Psalm 34, verse 6: "Look upon him and hope on him; and your faces shall not blush with shame!" Lines 1 to 3 begin just under the horizontal line, but lines 4 and 5 begin to right and to left of it, respectively. These two lines are also the two halves of a psalm-verse, Ps. 44:5: "In you we shall beat down our enemies; and for your name's sake we shall trample on those that hate us!" So, in each case, the first half of a divided psalm-verse is placed on the right, the side on which the horizontal line begins. Besides, the right-hand side is the good side.

With the exception of the first horizontal line, in the centre, these quotations from the psalms are associated, in the Syriac tradition, with pictorial representations of the Cross. It is very probable that the whole inscription on the east wall represents the Cross. The five interlaced circles are in the place of Christ's head, the horizontal line represents the cross-bar, the first vertical line represents the vertical beam, and the rest are draped symmetrically, like banners, from the side-bars.

The inscription covers a part of three courses of stone on the outer east wall of the vestry, each course being 42-45cm deep. The enlaced circles are on the course above. The lowest inscribed course was at about eye-level when I saw it. The interval between the five vertical lines of text is a regular one; from baseline to baseline it measures about 25cm. This regularity, and the order in which the vertical lines were engraved, explains why the last line had to begin across the crack between one block and another of a course. The letters are of uniform size, with the greatest height above the baseline about 11cm and the average middle height between 5cm and 5.5cm. The letter-forms are very similar to those of the South Wall Inscription; a detailed comparison will be made in section 2, ii. Chabot, working from a notebook without photographs, mistakenly tagged what he thought he had read of this inscription (which included the name of the heretic Mani!) onto the end of the South Wall Inscription; his mistakes were corrected by Pognon. But Pognon thought the East Wall Inscription was a mere graffito and did not take time to read more than a few words of it.

Horizontal line:

[7-10 letters = short name and title (perhaps: ʔdy qšyšʔ)?] ktb

Vertical lines

(1 centre, 2 right of centre, 3 left of centre, 4 far right, 5 far left):

- 1 [šmynʔ wbs]ymʔ nhwn (dots above second word)
- 2 [hwr] lwth wsbr bh
- 3 [w]ʔpykwn lʔ nhprn (dots above first and last words not visible)
- 4 bk ndqr lbʕldbbyn (dots above last word not visible)
- 5 wmtl šmk ndwš lsʔnyn (dots above last word)

The three quotations from the psalms, Ps. 92:15 (14), Ps. 34:6 and Ps. 44:5, are distinguished from each other by the fact that those who fear God are spoken of in the third person, the second person and the first person, respectively. This fact helps to mark off the five vertical lines from one another and to pair 2 with 3 and 4 with 5. The author of the inscription evidently meant the reader to study it attentively, not just to read the five vertical lines mechanically from left to right, as in a normal inscription, such as that on the south wall. One is reminded of another verse in Psalm 92 (verse 7): "The fool does not understand."



Fig. 3. The East Wall Inscription, St Sergius, Ehresh (photo: A.N. Palmer, June 1992).

The quotations gain point from being juxtaposed with the inscription on the south wall, which starkly juxtaposes the Mission and the Passion of Christ with the suffering of contemporary Jacobite believers at the hands of the Byzantines and the Arabs alike. Psalm 44 must have been read with much feeling by Christians who experienced defeat at the hands of the Arabs. It begins with a celebration of the victories which God in the past had given to his chosen people; then it laments the present defeat, claiming that the chosen people have not become apostate (like the Banū Tanūkh in the South Wall Inscription), but have remained true to their covenant with God and have not deserved punishment; finally it calls upon God to stand up for his people once more. Psalm 34 is more confident: "I shall bless the Lord at all times! A host of angels surrounds those who fear God. Depart from evil and do good! Those who hate the just man shall perish! He shall keep all his bones, that not one of them may be broken!" Psalm 92 is equally assured: "How great are the works of the Lord! The wicked flourish now, but they shall perish for ever! Good times will come for those who fear God!"

Psalms 44 and 34 were familiar to Jacobite Christians from the regular prayers chanted on Fridays in honour of the Cross. The verse quoted from the latter suggests a comparison, which is made in those prayers, with Numbers 21:8, the bronze snake raised on a stick by Moses, at which those bitten by poisonous snakes gazed, and were healed. This snake is one of the best known types of the crucified Christ. The Jacobite liturgical celebration of the Cross plays on all the themes of divine victory, from the victory of good over evil represented in the healing of those poisoned by snakes, to the victory of God's people over their

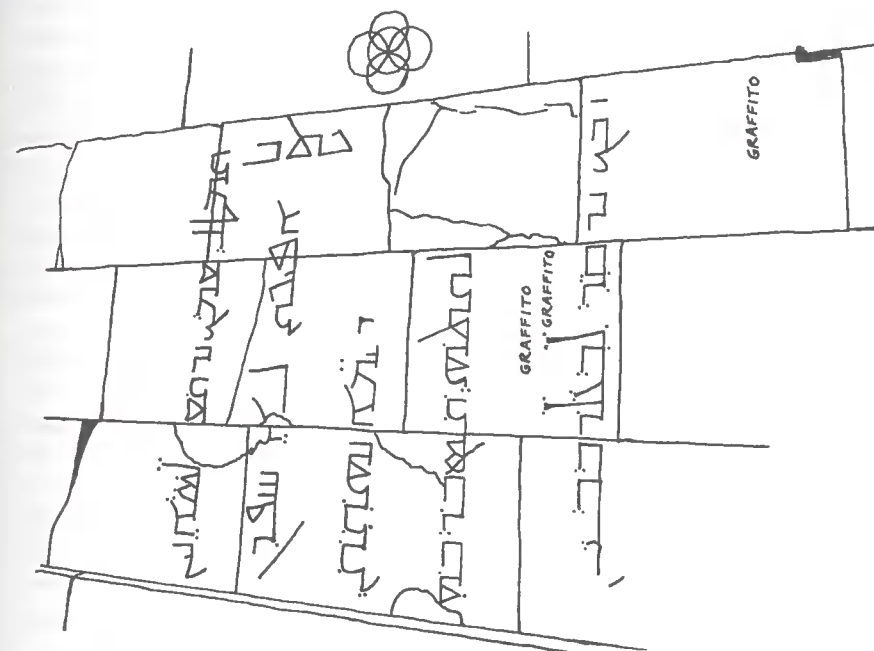


Fig. 4. The East Wall Inscription, St Sergius, Ehresh, drawing by A.N. Palmer.

enemies, for which the psalmist longs, and which was given to Constantine in the sign of the Cross. Thus the East Wall Inscription takes on an urgent significance when juxtaposed with that on the south wall.

3 The South Wall Inscription (= Pognon, No. 84)

i) Description

Like the East Wall Inscription, that on the south wall is orientated vertically. It covers two blocks of limestone ashlar and part of a third, moving from left to right and ending with the block at the south-east angle of the building. These blocks, which are well smoothed and bevelled at the edges, though without removing the diagonal marks of the fine drag (a sort of metal comb), are laid end to end in a horizontal course at above the middle height of the surviving wall. A single-word supplement to the inscription is chiselled on the course below, near the right-hand edge of the last block but one before the angle, the block under the second and third stones of the inscription. The course below that, which forms a ledge at the top of the slightly projecting lower section of the wall, is at about the eye-level of the visitor today. The ledge is 42.5cm below the lower edge of the course on which the inscription is engraved. From the lower to the upper edge of this course is 44.5cm, but the block which forms the cornerstone is slightly thicker. The left-hand inscribed block is 101cm long; the second block is 93.5cm long; the third block is 110cm long, but the original inscription ends 62cm along this block.

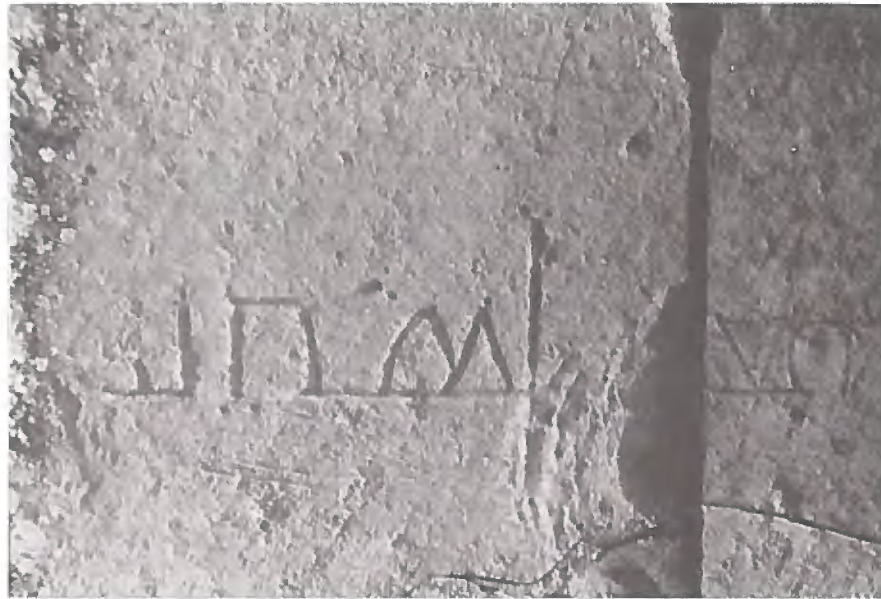
There were thirteen short lines of writing on the first block (starting from the left), of which the last has been almost completely broken away. On the second block there are eleven (lines 14-24); on the third block there are ten (lines 25-34), not counting a later unfinished graffito (lines 35 and 36) and the crosses to the right of that. The supplement on the course below is opposite the sixth line on the third block (line 30). Lines 1-28 are written in large letters (this section will be called Part One), while lines 29-34 (Part Two) are written in smaller letters. The large letters reach a maximum height of 5.5cm above the baseline, with a medium height of between 2cm and 3cm; one measurement for the full length of the letter ʾETH is 7cm. The small letters reach a maximum height of 4cm above the baseline, with a medium height of between 1.5cm and 2cm. There is slight surface damage in lines 1, 3, 14, 20, 22, 25 and 26; between line 29 and line 30, near the bottom edge of the stone, is a depression which appears to have been present when the inscription was written, because the last two letters in that line are arranged around it; but that the area of the depression was increased afterwards we can see from the damage to the HE in the last word before the edge of the stone in line 30. In lines 5, 6 and 15 and after line 34 there is graffito interference by knife, which is distinct from the chisel-work and does not employ drill-holes resembling dots, as the original mason of both this and the East Wall Inscription did.

ii) Analysis of the letter-forms

The letter-forms are everywhere Eṣṭrangelo (Gospel Script), though with two occurrences of one form derived from the Serṭo Pshṭo (Plain Script) at the end of lines 20 and 30. This deviation is due, as Pognon remarks, to lack of space at the edge of the stone in both cases. The letter-forms have some peculiar features: HE, with a middle leg shaped like a thick wedge; WAW retaining a tail even when not joined to a following letter; OLAF, WAW, HE and TAW are joined to the left along the base-line to a following letter. This last feature occurs in some other inscriptions of Osrhoene, but is not familiar from north-eastern Mesopotamia, on which the present writer's study of epigraphic letter-forms was based (Palmer 1989). Nevertheless, that study can be tentatively used to give a very approximate date; for we should not, perhaps, assume without further enquiry that the inscription was made in the reign of al-Mahdī (AD 775-85), even if this seems likely (see Baumstark 1922, 274 n. 3). In order to do this we must go through the analysis of letter-forms on pp. 86-89 of the article and see how the inscriptions at Ehresh compare with those in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. In what follows, 'early' means 'datable to the period before the late eighth century' and 'late' means 'datable to the period after the late eighth century'.

OLAF, when isolated, has no hook at the bottom of the right foot and no arching of the right foot, and in this it resembles late forms of the letter. The use of Plain Script OLAF on some occasions and the alignment of the horizontal bar and the originally oblique riser to the right of it on others are also late characteristics. On the other hand, the fact that OLAF is never tilted and never has an oblique riser at an exaggerated angle shows that it is not far removed from the early forms. HE with a middle leg shaped like a thick wedge does not occur in the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn corpus, but it seems related to the HE with a V-shaped dip above the middle leg which is there late. On the other hand, in Part Two, which is inscribed on a smaller scale, we find the early form. Another early characteristic is the retention of the hook on the right leg when the HE is joined to a previous letter, though the disappearance of the hook in some places where it is not joined is an indicator of lateness. WAW does not occur with the 'monk's hood' of some late inscriptions, only with the early form. HETH, even when written large, as in line 28, has nothing of the early complexity; instead the second upright is drawn simply as a parallel to the first, a late tendency. TETH could be late or early, but it does not occur with the curvilinear elements which would appear to be distinctly early. LOMADH has the vertical hasta attested as late. MIM (non-final) occurs in early and late forms, with near parallel legs and a perfectly horizontal upper bar, with the second leg pointed forwards and the left end of the bar tilted fractionally upwards, and with the second leg forwards and a horizontal bar. NUN does not occur in the final unattached form which alone proved useful for dating. SEMKATH occurs once only, with a late form: right 'ear' triangular, left 'ear' round. ŠODHE, which occurs twice in the South Wall Inscription, has nothing of the zig-zag found in true Eṣṭrangelo, tending rather to the form found in the Plain Script, an upper curve reduced to a short horizontal, followed by a wide,

Fig. 5. A detail of the inscription on the east wall of the church of St Sergius at Ehresh, showing the decorative drill-holes (photo: A.N. Palmer, June 1992).



sweeping curve describing approximately a third of a circle, beginning at the right of a diameter which lies on the base-line. Pognon misrepresents the joined form in line 11, which does not have the short vertical incision or 'horn' shown in his drawing at the inception of the letter. For what it is worth, no early joined SODHE from Tūr 'Abdīn has the 'horn'. SHIN has the hollow form attested as early as the mid-eighth and as late as the early ninth century. TAW does not have the early near-vertical hasta dividing the upper horizontal, nor does it have the early loop, only a triangle.

This analysis has shown that this inscription is not unambiguously classifiable as either early or late, in the sense defined above. It should therefore be described as transitional and dated around the end of the eighth century, although the scarcity of ninth-century inscriptions in Tūr 'Abdīn makes it impossible to say for certain that it was made before 800.

An individual feature of the South Wall Inscription is formed by the decorative drill-holes, resembling dots, two at the beginning or at the end of a stroke, where in writing the pen would be set down or lifted, one just outside the letter where the letter forms an angle. This feature is also present in the East Wall Inscription (see Fig. 5), although the upper 'skin' of the limestone has flaked off there through weathering, so that sometimes only the deeper drill-holes are visible. I have not seen it in any other inscription; nor was it imitated by those who added graffiti to the Ehresh inscriptions.

The letter-forms of the East Wall Inscription conform in every respect to the patterns described for the South Wall Inscription. Particularly striking is the unusual HE and the OLAPH and WAW joined to letters on the left, which are shared by the two inscriptions. Compare further the SHINS in vertical line 5 with that in the third line of the South Wall Inscription, the SEMKATHS in vertical lines 1 (residual), 2 and 6 with that in line 9 of the other inscription, the PE in vertical line 3 with that in line 19 of the other inscription, and the KAPH in the same line with that in the last line of the other inscription.

The resemblance of letter-forms, combined with the unique feature of the decorative drill-holes, in two inscriptions on adjoining walls of a single church, means that they were most probably the creation of a single mason. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that the mason of the East Wall Inscription appears to have signed it with his name in a very prominent way. No signature distinguished the author of the South Wall Inscription from this mason.



Fig. 6. The south wall of the vestry of the church of St Sergius at Ehresh (photo: A.N. Palmer, April 1990).

Fig. 7. The inscription on the south wall of the church of St Sergius at Ehresh, stones A-D (photo: Chris Lightfoot, 1989)

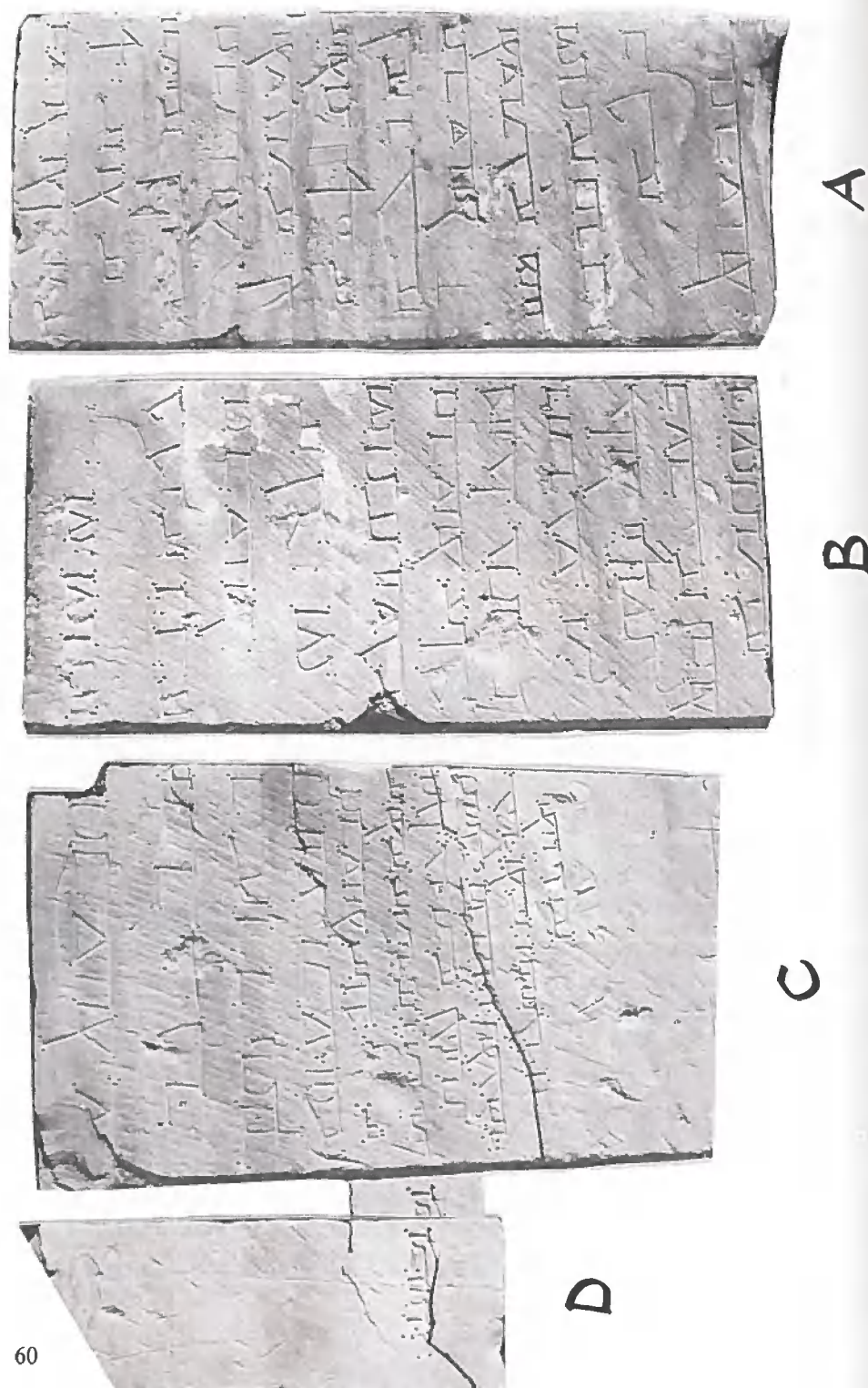
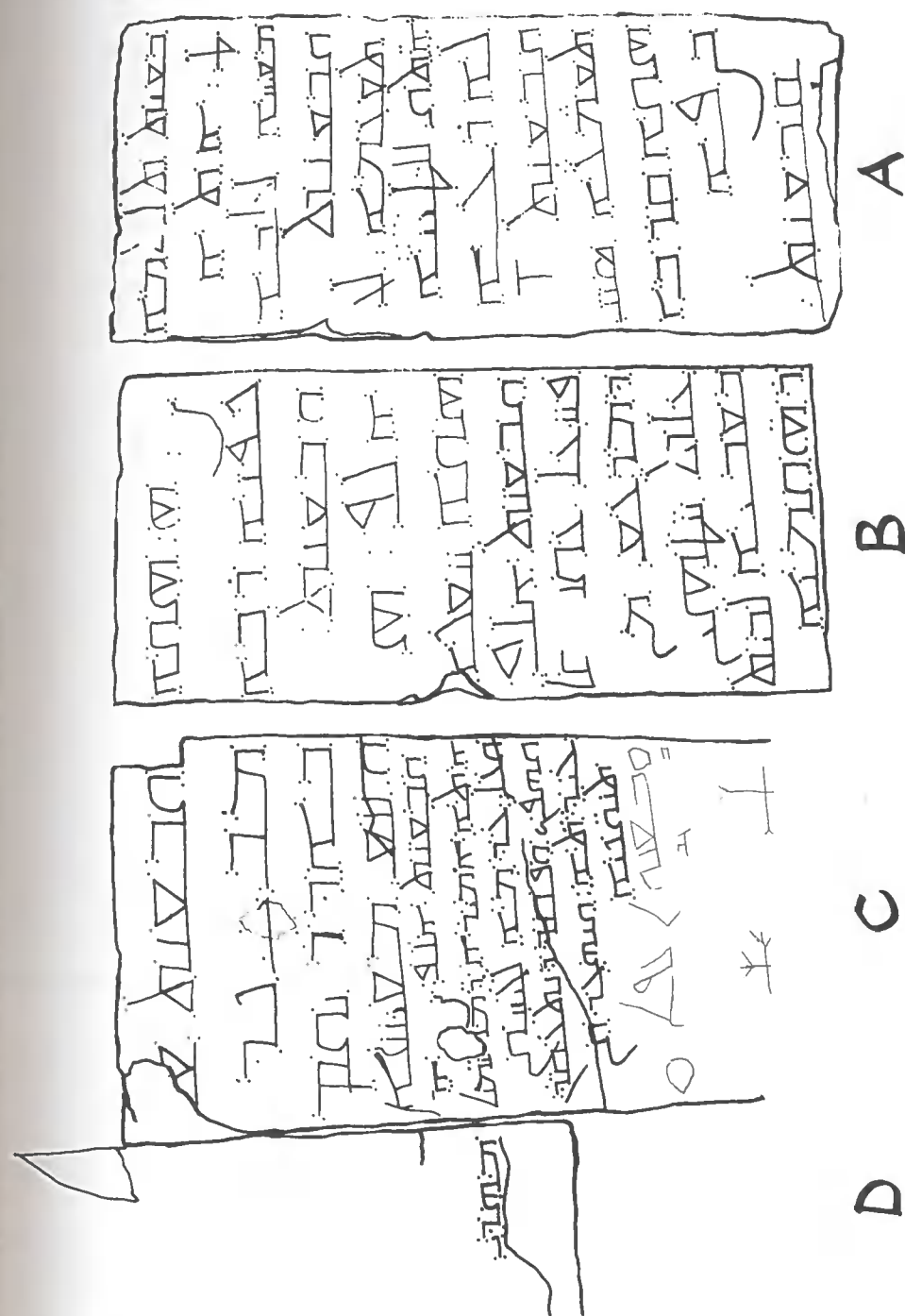


Fig. 8. The inscription on the south wall of the church of St Sergius at Ehresh, stones A-D, drawing by A.N. Palmer.



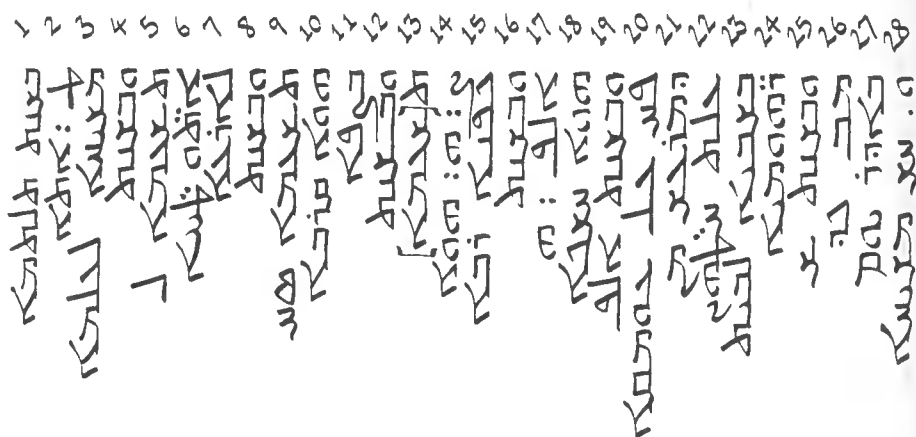
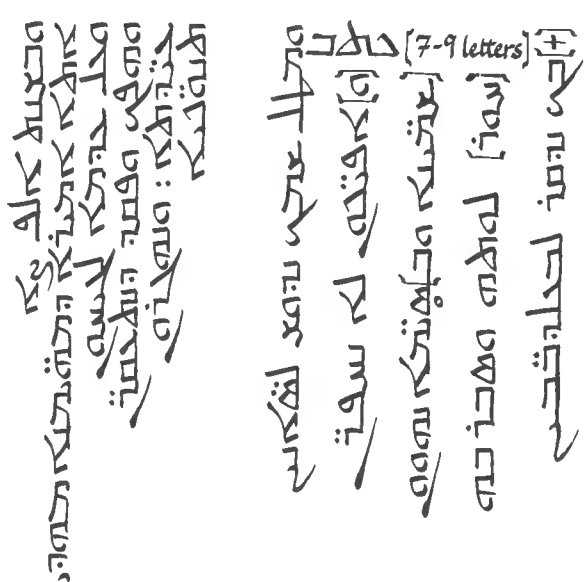


Fig. 9. Ehnesn, St. Sergius, South Wall Inscription, Part 1.

Fig. 10. Part Two (South) and East Wall Inscriptions, Ehnesn.

Notes:



Graffiti: Δ added at end SWI5; Δ attached to front of SWI6; after SWI34: Δ ; SWI9 Δ is written. The last word of SWI30 was added on another stone in the same style: Δ . The letter Δ in EW I1, if rightly restored, has a form unlike the Δ 's in SWI9 & EW I, 5 & 2.

iii) Transcription:

ON STONE A

1. bšnt tltm³
2. t: ʔt³
3. mšyḥ³ l³lm³
4. wbšnt
5. tš^cm³: lg (the g was added later: no decorative drilling)
6. ʔtw llyy³ (dots over the first ʔ and over the t) (the two l's were added later: no decorative drilling)
7. l³r^c
8. wbšnt
9. tšm^c šḥ (triangles of dots over m and c indicate transposition)
10. hw³ qrb³
11. bšp³
12. wbšnt
13. t[š^cm³]

ON STONE B

14. š: h: hw³
15. kpn³ rb³
16. wbšnt
17. ʔlp: h
18. hw³ ḥšk³
19. wbšnt ʔlp
20. pḥ ʔl ʔwmq³
21. dmr^c mn
22. ʔt ḥṯyn (dots over the HETH)
23. bšby³ lby
24. rhwmy³ (dots over the HE)

ON STONE C

25. wbšnt š
26. mb kd (the area between the two pairs of letters is messed up somewhat)
27. b³dr ywm
28. w. ḥš mšyḥ³
29. wbšnt ʔlp š ʔ
30. ʔt ʔmyr³ dmhymn³ (dots over the DOLATH)
31. w^cl ʔdm³ lgyḥwn
32. whpk wpqd dnt^cqrn (dots over the RISH)
33. ʔydt³ wnhgrwn (dots over TAW; note abnormal spelling of ʔdt³)
34. tnwky³ (dots over the WAW)
35. wbšnt ʔlp³ w (these are later graffiti)
36. b gb (these are later graffiti)

(there follow some crosses)

ON STONE D (continuing line 30)

Supplement: mhdy

iv) Translation

The translation ignores later additions and graffiti. For ease of reference the text is divided into eight sections (a-h), each devoted to one year.

Part One

(in large letters)

- (a) In the year 309 the Messiah came to the world
- (b) and in the year 930 the Arabs came to the land
- (c) and in the year 968 a battle occurred at Šēfē
- (d) and in the year [9]95 a great famine occurred
- (e) and in the year 1005 a darkness occurred
- (f) and in the year 1088 the Vale of Mar^cash entered into captivity in the territory of the Romans on account of our sins
- (g) and in the year 342, on 24th March, the 6th day, the Messiah suffered

Part Two

(in small letters)

- (h) and in the year 1091 the Commander of the Faithful came and entered as far as Gīḥōn and he returned and ordered the churches to be torn down and the Tanūkhids to adopt Islam.

Supplement

(After the words "Commander of the Faithful")

Mahdī

v) Philological notes

- 1. The second OLAF (= ʔ) of the word m^{ʔʔ} = 'hundred' is consistently omitted in this inscription.
- 2. Alphabetical symbols are used for digits and tens but not for hundreds or for a thousand; there is one exception in line 25, where SHIN is used for 300.
- 3. WAW = 'and' is not used between the elements of a composite number, except perhaps in the graffiti, line 35.
- 4. In spite of the generous use of dots, there are no vowel-signs, not even on proper names (lines 11 and 31, for example) and no diacritical signs indicating the perfect or another verbal aspect.
- 5. The two dots above the masculine third person plural form of the verb in line 6 are incorrect, but can be paralleled from e.g. the Vatican Syriac MS 163, foll. 1-6 (*Chron. Edessa* 540).
- 6. The graffiti additions to line 6 have no conceivable significance and should be seen as idle doodling.

- 7. The transposition of the third and fourth letters of tš^cm^ʔ in line 9 is indicated by a triangle of dots above each of the two letters, by no means so unusual in manuscripts as is claimed by Torrey (1950-51, 445), although they are not often preserved in inscriptions. They may sometimes have been added in paint or so lightly that erosion has obliterated them (cf. Palmer 1987, 59, A.1, line 5, last word).
- 8. The form - šp^ʔ - for the place-name Šiffin is also attested in the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, II, p. 153, AG 968, where it has the two dots indicating a plural; in the *Chronicle of AD 1234*, I, p. 278, it is written: š^ʔpyn, which might indicate either Šēfin or Šāfin. The Arabic form suggests the former, which is why the name is vocalized Šēfē in my translation.
- 9. The insertion of a colon between the ŠODHE and the HE in line 14 may have been intended to fill out what would otherwise have been rather a short line.
- 10. The word ḥšk^ʔ (line 18), translated "darkness", is sometimes used to describe an eclipse of the sun: cf. *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, II, p. 148, AG 912, where a slightly different form, ḥšūkhō, is used.
- 11. The divergence from Pognon in lines 19-24 revolves around the verb ʿl. Pognon took it to mean 'invaded'. He recognized the oddness of the phrase "the Vale of Mar^cash invaded the Byzantine empire to plunder it", even if, as must be the case, it is the inhabitants of the Vale who are actually meant; his solution (rather a lame one) was to suppose that some words had been omitted here by an oversight. An exact parallel to the phrase ʿl bšby^ʔ has not come to my attention, although Payne-Smith quotes ʔzlw bšby^ʔ as a translation of the Greek ἐπορεύθησαν and šby^ʔ alone as a translation of the Greek αἰχμαλωσία. The *Chronicle of AD 1234* has similar phrases, only from the point of view of the captors; the first is on p. 298 of vol. I, lines 26-7: "Then the Arabs forced the city open and took it captive (ʔpqwh bšby^ʔ) and returned to Syria." The second is in the same volume, on p. 259, line 28: "They also took captive (nsbwhy bšby^ʔ) the governor of that city." By contrast, vol. I, p. 296, lines 19-20 have: wʿl šb^ʔ wʔpq šbyt^ʔ dl^ʔ sk^ʔ, of which a literal translation might be: "and he invaded and captured and extracted a vast quantity of slave-material." These examples give sufficient philological support to the common-sense assumption that the Vale of Mar^cash, being a geographical entity, must be the victim, rather than the agent, of aggression. This interpretation is confirmed by the report of the same event in the Greek chronicle of Theophanes (see below).
- 12. Pognon translates kd in line 26 as if it were the word 'when', adducing a parallel from Heshterek in Tūr ʿAbdīn (No. 99 in his collection). The letter-combination kd appears to occur twice in the Heshterek inscription. The first occurrence is not relevant to our inscription, because there is a verb involved: kd ʿyl ḥ ywm^ʔ bḥzyrn yrḥ{ʔ} bngḥ ʿrwbṭ^ʔ, "at the beginning of (reading the active participle ʿoyel with a phonetic spelling) the eighth day of the month of June on the Friday eve." The second occurrence is in lines 4-6, where we read: wbšnt ʔlp wr wp wd bdywny^ʔ ywm ʿrwbṭ^ʔ kd y btšr{yn} qd{ym}, which Pognon would translate "and in the year 1284 of the Greek (era) on Friday when (supply: it was) the tenth of October." Pognon then has the problem

that 10 October, AD 972, was in fact a Thursday; this he attempts to solve by suggesting that the exact day had been forgotten. Apart from the objection that one would not give the weekday unless it was remembered, it is improbable that the communal memory of the village would fail to retain this information for three years after the man's death. He had been, after all, the rector of their church and the Syrians have always had a strong tradition of commemorating the dead. Unfortunately there is no means of checking Pognon's reading here, since the inscription was never photographed and appears to have been destroyed. But on the basis of Pognon's drawing one might speculate that the DOLATH was in fact a fragmentary HE and the YUDH was either the left vertical of the same letter, with an accidental scratch resembling a tail, or altogether accidental. If this were right it would give the following text: "and in the year 1284 of the Greek (era) on Friday, 25 October." The fact that 25 October, AD 972, was indeed a Friday is an argument in favour of this reading. Against Pognon's reading stand both the false synchronism and the unparalleled Syriac construction, which is hardly credible *a priori*. Even if Pognon's reading of the Heshterek inscription were correct, it would not supply an exact parallel for the syntax proposed by him in the case of the inscription at Ehresh; and since there are viable alternatives to both of Pognon's readings and no external control, it is better to opt for the straightforward interpretation in the case of the inscription at Ehresh.

13. Friday is usually called ʿrwbtʿ, although the first to the fifth days of the week are known by their numbers. Moreover, it is usual to write not just 'day X' but 'day X of the week': ywm ʿhd bšbʿ, 'day one/the first day of the week' for example. The form we find here might suggest that the number six itself was of importance to the author in this context.
14. The title ʿmyrʿ dmhymnʿ, 'Commander of the Faithful', is a translation of the Arabic ʿamīr al-muʾminīn; it is found also, in the mouth of a Muslim emphasizing the religious responsibilities of the caliph, in the *Chronicle of AD 1234*, p. 277. The Muslim caliph is usually referred to by Syrian Christians as 'the king (mlkʿ) of the Arabs'. Barhebraeus (d. 1286) does not use the word 'caliph' or 'caliphate' before the foundation of Baghdad in 752 (*Chronicon syriacum*, p. 122, line 3; p. 125, 10 up etc.), although Budge's translation has 'this Caliph' at the beginning of each notice on a 'king of the Arabs', where Barhebraeus has 'this one' (i.e. 'this man' or 'this king'). All the other instances known to me of the title 'Commander of the Faithful' in Syriac are also in this work of Barhebraeus (pp. 227, 231 and 236; these passages were pointed out to me by Hubert Kaufhold). On each of these three occasions he is quoting diplomatic exchanges in the mid-eleventh century. Only in the second example is the title employed by a non-Muslim, and that is in a bilingual Greek and Arabic letter from the Byzantine emperor Constantine Monomachus to the caliph Abū Jaʿfar, which has been translated by Barhebraeus's source into Syriac. The tenth-century emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus had already laid down rules of Byzantine diplomacy which allowed the use of the title ἀμερουμην (De ceremoniis, II 48, vol. 1, p. 686,

line 4); but the garbled form and the lack of a translation into Greek make it probable that the meaning of the title was not fully understood. The title is found, in a different Greek transcription, in a seventh-century mosaic inscription beginning with a cross at Ḥammāt Gaḏēr in Palestine, with reference to the caliph Muʿāwīya (Hirschfeld-Solar 1981, 203-4; Hirschfeld 1987, 106-7). The wording of this inscription was probably decided by John (Jōannēs), an official of the Arab administration at Gadara, the man under whose 'care' the warm baths near that city were repaired. His name shows him to be a Christian, which, together with the early date, explains both the use of the Greek language and the cross at the beginning. Muʿāwīya, after all, attempted to introduce coinage without the sign of the cross, but had to withdraw it from circulation, because 'it was not accepted' (*Maronite Chronicle*, under the Seleucid year 971 = AD 650; the inscription at Ḥammāt Gaḏēr is dated by the era of the city and that of the Arabs to AD 663). However, the official nature of the inscription and the fact that the funds were provided by a non-Christian, the 'counsellor' ʿAbd Allāh, the son of Abū Ḥashim, is sufficient explanation of the use of the title 'Commander of the Faithful'. Thus none of the known examples of this title in Greek and Syriac texts can remove the impression that its presence in the inscription at Ehresh is paradoxical.

15. Syriac frequently adds the word nhrʿ 'river' after the name of a river. The fact that it is not added after 'Giḥōn' need not mean that the reference is not to a river, since inscriptions are habitually economical of expression (see Palmer 1988b, 116).
16. The verb translated "returned" (hpk) has a considerable semantic range in its various forms and combinations, including the concepts of destruction and renegation.
17. For "the churches" one might also read "some churches", since Syriac does not always indicate the definiteness or indefiniteness of a substantive and there is no clear indicator here. The spelling of ʿdtʿ as ʿydtʿ is phonetically justifiable and is found in many inscriptions (e.g. Palmer 1987, 122, C.2, lines 3 and 10).
18. The graffito at the end (lines 35 and 36) does not yield any meaning beyond the phrase "and in the year".

vi) *Chronographical Notes* (letters refer to lines of the English translation)

The dates in this inscription, as in most Syriac inscriptions, are Seleucid = AG (counting from 1 October, 312 BC). They should be read as follows: a) by inference from (g): March 25th, 2 BC; b) AD 621/2; c) AD 656/7; d) AD 683/4; e) AD 693/4; f) AD 776/7; g) March 24th, AD 31; h) AD 779/80.

a) The date of Christ's Incarnation is that given by the archives of Edessa, reflected by the *Chronicle of Edessa*. Jacob of Edessa defended this date against that of Eusebius (AG 312 = 1 BC) in a letter to John of Litarba (see Nau 1900). December 25th, AG 310 (= 2 BC) is given in the *Chronicle of Michael* (text, p. 88, left column) as the date of the Nativity, a tradition which probably regarded the

Edessene date as correct, but applied it to Christ's Conception, not his birth. The *Chronicle of AD 724* reflects some uncertainty here, since it states on p. 95 that the Nativity of Christ occurred in AG 310, whereas the date AG 309 is given on p. 97f. for the 'Epiphany' of Christ (see Palmer 1992, 32-3; Palmer 1993, 9). The words "came to the world", in our inscription, should probably be understood as referring to the Conception on March 25th. This finds confirmation in the date given for Christ's Passion on March 24th (see below).

b) This date is problematical; a later hand has chiselled in a supplement which makes it 933 (AD 621/2), the correct date for the beginning of the Islamic era, but not for the Arab conquest of Euphratesia. There is little doubt that the original date inscribed was 930; the diagonal stroke which turns 30 into 33 is a graffito, not a chisel-stroke, and it does not have the drilled holes characteristic of the original lettering. Robert Hoyland points out that a Syriac text written in AD 755 (*Account of the Generations*, 348; see Palmer 1993, 51) appears to agree with the Ehnes inscription in dating Muḥammad's 'entering the land' in AG 930, AD 618/9; that the same source distinguishes this event from the beginning of 'the era of the Hagarenes' in AG 933; and that there is a recurrent aberration of two years and nine months in the Arabic chronology of Islam.

c) AG 968 is the date given for this battle by the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* (compiled in AD 775). The Syriac Šēfē is equivalent to the Arabic Šifīn, a place on the Euphrates north of Ruṣāfa, on the same side as that city. There the Arabs of Mu'awiya fought against the Arabs of 'Alī and so began the most important civil war in Arab history.

d) The famine cannot certainly be identified with one recorded elsewhere. John bar Penkāyē refers to a bad famine in AH 67 = AD 686/7. A famine dated in the *Chronicle of AD 1234* (pp. 195-7) to AD 541/2 is placed by Michael, *Chronicle*, 11.11b, pp. 430-3, in the late seventh century; it is only the fact that it affected the area of Mar'ash which suggests a possible connection. At the risk of overburdening this list of concise notes I translate it here:

At a time of extreme hunger, such that men ate wild beasts and everything impure, there was in the village of 'Ufri in the region of Germaniceia, which is Mar'ash, a certain man whose name was Elisha, an easterner by origin, who used to associate with thieves. Later he separated from them and went to live alone in a cave on the mountain, as if he were a solitary. During the famine this man was driven to eat human flesh; but when the chastisement of the famine passed, he did not give up his evil habit. He would come down constantly to the villages and kidnap little boys by deceit, take them up, slaughter them pitilessly, then eat their flesh. As for their bones and their clothes, he would hide them in a certain place near his cave. When he saw the mothers of the boys weeping, he would speak execrable words of comfort to them and offer them some of the flesh of their children to eat, saying, 'You are grieved on account of your son who has died; but do not be sorrowful. Call him blessed because he has been delivered from the famine. This meat is from some game I caught: take it and eat it.' The poor women were so hungry that they would eat it without knowing where it came from and they even thanked him for it.

At grape-picking time he said to the labourers in that village of 'Ufri, 'I am going to prepare a feast for you, so that you will give me wine from your vineyards.' Having delivered his invitation he went to the village to get some food in his usual brazen way. That day, however, he did not come across any little boys. Now it so happened that a deacon called Damian, from the monastery of Mor Mari, had come to that place to buy some cheese. When the wicked Elisha saw him, he said, 'Come with me! I will sell you a hundred pounds of cheese.' He took him up and showed him into the cave, then said to him, 'Lie down and rest for a little, while I go and get the cheese.' When he was asleep Elisha came and struck him on the head with a stone and killed him. Then he roasted his flesh, which was very fat indeed. After that he went down to the village, taking the flesh of his thighs, and set it down before the labourers. While they were eating, one of them, whose name was Matthew, said, 'My lord Elisha, this meat does not taste good.' The murderer swore that it was wild ox meat, but that man would eat no more of it. His friends, however, ate their fill.

The next day, Damian's relatives came looking for him, because he had gone missing. Certain persons had seen him going up with Elisha to buy some cheese, so they began to suspect. A few days later, that dog Elisha came down to the village to hunt for little boys in his evil way. He found none, because, as a result of what had happened, the villagers were hiding their sons. But he did find a young priest and said to him, 'Do you want to buy some cheese?' The priest decided to trick him and said, 'Yes, I do. How much do you sell it for?' He answered, 'One denarius for a hundred pounds.' So he went up with him to the cave and kept on his guard. 'Lie down and rest till I come back,' said Elisha to the priest. He stayed away a long time, but the priest kept a wary vigil. Late in the evening, when he imagined the priest would have fallen asleep, Elisha went in with a stone in his hands to kill him. The priest sprang to his feet and said, 'Were you planning to kill me, Elisha?' He replied, 'No, I was not. I was just fooling about and pretending.'

That priest remained standing the whole night, singing psalms. At dawn he asked, 'And where is the cheese?' 'There is no cheese,' was Elisha's answer. Then the priest began to work on his feelings of remorse and got him to go down with him. When the two men came into the village, the priest gave a yell and all the villagers gathered round. Then the priest gave them the signal to arrest him. After the priest had told them everything that he had done, they tied Elisha up and went up to make a search in his cave. They found there eleven skulls of children and, still intact, the head of Damian, together with a supply of dried human meat and the clothes of the boys. So they committed him (to the authorities) and under torture he confessed to all his atrocious crimes. They impaled him on a stake.

At the same time, in the Christian village of Kfar Hims, there were two women who shared a house and one of them had a baby. Her companion said to her, 'How can you bring up that baby and give it suck in such a famine as this?' The mother of the child replied, 'Fear God, Sargo! What on earth are you thinking of?' But she was silent. The next day the mother of the baby went out to gather grass, so extreme was the shortage of food. Then that woman went and

fetches two other women and a man who were in the habit of eating human flesh. Together they slaughtered the baby, boiled it and ate it. When the mother returned that wicked Sargo said to her, 'Your son is dead. We buried him with the unbaptized.' But she said, 'Show me the grave.' When she showed her a place, she excavated it, but she did not find her son. Then she ran to the judge and told him what had happened. The women were arrested and under torture they confessed to the crime and told the name of the man who had been their accomplice. All of them were burnt. At the same time another woman died and women came and ate her thighs.

e) The solar eclipse referred to here occurred on October 5, 693, and was total in Euphratesia, as has been shown by the painstaking astronomical calculations of Von Oppolzer (1962, Chart 91). It is also mentioned by Michael (*Chronicle*, 11.16b, pp. 446-7) and by other literary sources (Schöve-Fletcher 1984, 137-42).

f) In AD 768/9 the Chalcedonian or 'Melkite' population of the Vale of Mar'ash was deported by the Arabs for allegedly spying for the Byzantines and settled in al-Ramla (Michael, *Chronicle*, 11.26a; Theophanes refers to this event under Anno Mundi 6262 = AD 770). The Byzantine invasion of AD 777 alluded to in our inscription was led by the general of the Thrakesian Theme, Michael Lakhanodrakon, and others and affected those inhabitants designated by the Byzantines themselves as 'Syrian Jacobite heretics'; these were forcibly resettled at the emperor Leo's command in Thrace (Theophanes, Anno Mundi 6270).

g) The Crucifixion of Christ is presumably calculated from the date of his coming 'into the world' — see (a) above — on the assumption that he lived for (exactly) 33 years, counting from the day of his conception, 25 March, 2 BC.

h) The invasion is not recorded in the Syriac chronicles, but the Arab chroniclers have a description of an invasion led by the caliph al-Mahdī in the Islamic year 163 (= AD 779/80), in the course of which he passed Mosul, traversed Mesopotamia (= "came", in our inscription, from the perspective of Ehresh) and arrived at Aleppo, where he ordered the execution of many Manichaeans, before invading Byzantine territory (= "entered" in our inscription) as far as [the river] Jayḥān. Theophanes, Anno Mundi 6272, records that al-Mahdī went to Dabekon (Dābiq, north of Aleppo) with a large force, whence he sent his son Aaron (Hārūn) on an invasion of Byzantine territory, while he himself returned to the Holy City (Jerusalem). "He also sent out Moukhesias, known as the Zealot, with authority to make the slaves of the Christians apostatize and to devastate the holy churches." Two places in and between which this devastation occurred are mentioned, namely Emesa and Damascus; but some part of the area to the north of Emesa is also indicated. Michael, *Chronicle*, 12.1 (text pp. 478-9, quoted in the *Chronicon Syriacum* of Barhebraeus, pp. 126-7), records the destruction by this caliph of churches built since the time of Islām and the forced conversion to Islām of the Christian Arab tribe of the Banū Tanūkh (the 'Tanūkhids' of our inscription), with the exception of a few men and most of the women. These and other sources for this event, including the South Wall

Inscription, are examined by Shahīd (1984, 423-32).¹³

vii) Conceptual Elucidation

There are concepts occurring in the South Wall Inscription which are specific to the culture which generated it:

'The year': The Syrians used a solar year, beginning on 1 October. Year One in the era most often used by the Syrians began on 1 October, 312 BC, when Seleucus I Nikator entered Babylon. This era is called the Seleucid or Greek era and is sometimes referred to as the era of Alexander.

'The Messiah': A concept of Jewish origin. The word means 'the anointed one', that is, the leader or king appointed and consecrated by God to lead the people chosen by God. Jesus of Nazareth was accorded this title by his followers, but he was recorded as saying that his kingdom was 'not of this world'. The coming of the Messiah was associated with the hope of liberation from oppressive alien rule. As Messiah, Jesus was also called the 'Son of God'. This was taken to mean that his mother's conception of him was caused by mysterious processes, not by the seed of a human father, and that the person Jesus existed eternally, before and after his life as a human being. His appearance in his mother's womb could therefore be attributed to his having 'come' there from the spiritual world.

'The world': Without further qualification, this means the created or material world, as opposed to the spiritual world.

'The Arabs': The Syriac word 'Ṭayyōyē' is derived from the name of one Arab tribe, but it was soon adopted as a name for all Arabs and by the time of this inscription it was, for the Jacobites, a virtual synonym of 'Muslims'.

'The land': It is difficult to say for certain whether this should be understood to mean 'the Promised Land', as often in the Old Testament, or the land where the inscription stands, Euphratesia. The third possibility is that the land in question is that of Medina, if AG 930 represents the hijra (cf. Palmer 1993, 51).

'The Vale of Mar'ash': An ancient lake in a rift valley which has now been silted up and forms a level vale joining a number of converging valleys. This area is criss-crossed by streams and has marshy areas here and there; and the whole vale is drained north-westwards through a narrow neck into the hollow river valley of the Jayḥān below. Such areas are favourable to cultivation and, being surrounded on all sides by hills, form natural units of human habitation.¹⁴

¹³ For Shahīd, the chief importance of the inscription at Ehresh is that it confirms the encounter of the Tanūkhids with al-Mahdī. He also sees the coupling of al-Mahdī's destruction of churches with his islamisation of the Tanūkhids as evidence that the churches in question were those of the Banū Tanūkh (p. 424). However, as we have seen, Theophanes (AM 6272) attests the widespread destruction of churches. As for the inscription, the destruction of the churches there precedes the reference to the Tanūkhids and is not formally related to it. cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, VIII, 136 (Islamic year 161 = AD 777/8) and 147-8 (Islamic year 163 = AD 779/80).

¹⁴ Brooks 1900-01, 89 note 210, says that the Syrians referred to the Vale of Mar'ash as the Vale of Antioch, but our inscription and Michael (*Chronicle*, p. 476 of the Syriac text) show that this is not, or not invariably, so; by the Vale of Antioch the Syrians probably meant the extension of the same rift valley to the south-west, beyond the watershed.

'The territory of the Romans': This means the Byzantine or Christian Roman empire of the East, which straddled Europe and Asia and had its capital at Constantinople (ancient Byzantium) on the European shore of the Bosphorus. The South Wall Inscription makes it doubtful whether the border of the territory of the Romans stopped at the Taurus above Cilicia at this time, as drawn most recently by Treadgold,¹⁵ or extended further, to the east of the river Jayḥān.

'The faithful': Normally in a Christian text this would mean Christians of the same persuasion as the writer. It is often used in Syriac to mean the lay people as opposed to the clergy. In this inscription it turns out, surprisingly, to mean the Muslims.

'Mahdī': Here of course a name, 'al-Mahdī'; yet it is not improbable that the author was aware of the meaning and associations of that name. The Arabic al-mahdī means 'the rightly led one' and designates a saviour-figure in Muslim scenarios for the end of the world comparable with the Messiah in Christian Apocalyptic.

'Gīḥōn': There is no need to suppose that this name is anything other than a form of 'Jayḥān', the Arabic for the river Pyramos, of which a variant form is 'Jayḥūn'. It is probably mere coincidence that the name Gīḥōn is that of one of the four rivers of Paradise in Genesis 2:13 and that Gīḥōn, near Jerusalem, is also known from the Old Testament (I Kings 1:33,38,45; II Chronicles 32:30, 33:14) as the place where Solomon was anointed and proclaimed king. However, it is as well to be aware of this coincidence, since it is possible that the inscription alludes indirectly to apocalyptic literature, in the context of which the biblical Gīḥōns might have some symbolic significance. Gīḥōn is apparently represented here as a topographical designation for something within the Byzantine empire, since al-Mahdī is said to have entered, *i.e.* invaded, as far as Gīḥōn. Both the inscription and the Arabic chronicles leave open the possibility that Gīḥōn in this case is a place, not the river of that name; such a place has not been mapped by historical geographers concerned with the early Islamic period.

'Tanūkhids': For this Arab tribe I refer to the full treatment in Shahīd 1984. I take issue with Shahīd, however, on the denomination of the Banū Tanūkh. He says (Shahīd 1984, 427) that "they presumably remained what they had been in the fourth century, orthodox Dyophysites" and adds in a note that a part of the same tribal group "was Monophysite in Mesopotamia after its conversion by Aḥūdemmeḥ." The Banū Tanūkh cannot have been 'Dyophysites' before the Council of Chalcedon, AD 451, which defined the dogma of the two natures of Christ. In the reign of Maurice (582-602), according to the *Chronicle of AD 1234* (p. 213), Nuʿman b. al-Mundhir stated that "All the Arab tribes are Jacobites." Even if this is a Jacobite exaggeration, there is the evidence of Michael (*Chronicle*, XI 8c, p. 422) that the Jacobite patriarch John (632-648) employed Tanūkhids, among others, to translate the Gospel into Arabic. In the corresponding passage of the *Chronicle of AD 1234* (p. 263), based on the same excellent ninth-

15 Treadgold 1988, 12: 'The empire in 780'.

century Jacobite source, the Tanūkhids are called 'pious'.¹⁶ The agreement between Michael and the *Chronicle of AD 1234* shows that this report is derived from the lost history by Dionysius of Tel-Maḥre, a well-researched work, which was finished about 842 (see Palmer 1993, Part Two).

The total number of dates for which events are recorded is eight, a number which was thought to contain "the fullness of resurrection". The opening of the eighth book of the *Chronicle of Michael* reads: "To our Lord the Messiah, who consented to fulfil the law of the eighth day and on the eighth day he comes and makes everything new." After the seven days of the Jewish week, the day on which Christ rose from the dead could be counted as the eighth day and the beginning, not of a seven-day cycle like the others, but of a new era, a day that would never end (see Dölger 1934). In a Syriac translation of the well-known tale, one young man was added to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus; this is an example of the resurrection symbolism of the number eight in the popular literature of the time in which the South Wall Inscription was written (the translation was included in a chronicle composed at Amida in AD 775).

The purpose of these notes is not to suggest that all the levels of meaning described are present in the Ehresh inscription, only to make the reader aware of some of the possibilities. It would be possible to look for further number-symbolism in the coincidence that Christ's Passion occurred on the sixth day of the week in the sixth month of the Seleucid year; but, although the unusual way in which Friday is referred to accents the number (see Philological Notes, 13), this seems too far-fetched.

viii) Literary background

This section will be limited to brief treatments of two genres of Syriac texts: the epigraphic memorial and the chronographic record. As an inscription our text should belong to the first category, but it is written in the form of the second.

Epigraphy: Syriac inscriptions of the post-Constantinian period are generally monuments either to the fashioning of objects (most often buildings), or to the death of a person. The objects and the people concerned are almost invariably connected with the sacred sphere, the furthest removes from the sacred being represented by a brick-kiln, winepress or kneading-trough made for a monastery

16 Shahīd 1984, 436 n. 90, assumes that these were not representative of the whole 'tribal group', but only of 'the Monophysite branch', but he nowhere cites his evidence for believing that there was a Chalcedonian branch, or indeed that the tribe was divided in its allegiance. Instead, he alludes to its fourth-century stance, evidenced by the signature of Pamphilus, bishop of the Arabs, at Nicaea (pp. 330-34) and by the Tanūkhids' opposition to the Arian emperor Valens (ch. IV), contrasting that with the anti-Orthodox stance of those Tanūkhids later known to have been Jacobites. In fact the opponents of Chalcedon did rally to the flag of Nicene Orthodoxy and could even be called ultra-Nicene, in that they maintained the Nicene anathema against additions to the Creed as invalidating the new definition of Chalcedon. It is for this reason that the Jacobites call themselves 'Syrian Orthodox'.

and by the death of a child who was born into a priestly family and so should have become a member of the village clergy, had he lived. Other kinds of memorial exist, but they are rare. The masons who engraved the inscriptions were frequently priests and monks.

The only Syriac inscription known to me in which a series of dates is reported, as in a chronicle, is unpublished. It is in the ancient burial vault on the south side of the church of the Saffron Monastery, near Mardin. The inscription consists of three parts, the last dated AD 1894; but the first part seems to have been copied from an earlier document. It reads as follows: "In the Greek year 1998 [AD 1686/7] George of Mosul was consecrated patriarch over the Jacobite nation; and again, in the year 2008 [AD 1696/7], he restored the Za'faran monastery which had been in ruins; and he was working on it for three years until he had made the whole of it complete; and in the year 2017 [AD 1705/6] there was a fatal epidemic within Mardin, like the Flood, and in it died this George and departed to the spiritual world with the succour of God." Probably this inscription is based on an obituary or even a biography of George of Mosul and was intended as a memorial to the man and to his achievement. It is this purpose which governs the selection of events recorded. The comparison with the Flood might have evoked the guilt of man and the wrath of God; but this seems to be belied by the praiseworthy life of the patriarch.

The conclusion of this investigation is that the South Wall Inscription on the church of St Sergius at Ehresh is unique in the Syriac epigraphic genre, according to the present state of our knowledge. Does the key to its exegesis lie perhaps in the conventions of another genre?

Chronography: The earliest complete work of Syriac historiography to have survived is an Edessene chronicle ending in AD 506 (*Chron. Edessa 506*, on which see Palmer 1990b). After a preface there follows a historical excursus tracing the political (non-theological) causes of the war which had just ended when the chronicle was written. This excursus puts the blame for the war, in human terms, on the Persians, thus exculpating the Byzantine emperor, Anastasius. The author, almost certainly a steward of the cathedral at Edessa, taking the story up year by year from AG 806 (AD 494/5), then describes various portents and calamities, including the day (Saturday, October 23rd, AD 499) when the sun was dimmed and the famine of AD 500-502. All of these things he attributes directly to the agency of God. The cessation of the famine he presents as a divine response to the cessation of the mime-shows, which had been such a blot on the Christian face of Edessa. For this and for relief and good government during the years of famine, the Edessenes had Anastasius to thank. But there was another sin, which, theologically speaking, was the cause of the war that followed (AD 502-506). The author does not name this sin directly, but he intimates that it is the arrogance of opinionated theologians, which threatened the very unity of the Church in his time. He discusses the theory that the war was destined to occur, regardless of human guilt, because the end of the world was approaching; but he rejects it, because the war at the end of the world was to be a World War and because the False Messiah, who should also appear at that time, had not yet been seen. This

chronicle was not merely a record of recent events, but an answer to critics of the emperor Anastasius and of his religious policy (at that time a policy which put Church unity above doctrinal differences), which they blamed for the disaster of the war and especially for the sack of the city of Amida. The author finds it necessary to answer on two levels, the human level of historical rights and wrongs and diplomatic exchanges and the level of divine justice, perceived as transcending other kinds of causation. Mistakes and injustice at the terrestrial level can cause wars, but only if those wars are allowed by God, who sees human affairs from another perspective and is angered only by sin. The sin of a whole people rather than the errors of its leaders can, in absolute terms, be the cause of a war.

The next most ancient chronicle is an Edessene chronicle ending in AD 540 (*Chron. Edessa 540*). It begins with a long extract from the archives of the once autonomous kingdom of Edessa concerning a flood in AD 201. The next section follows directly on from the record of the flood: "In the year 180 (132 BC) began the reign of the kings in Edessa; and in the year 266 (46 BC) began the reign of Augustus Caesar; and in the year 309 (1 October, 3 BC, to 30 September, 2 BC) our Lord was born; and in the year 400 (AD 89) King Abgar built a burial tower as a monument to himself etc." The list of dates continues up to AD 540, with mainly short entries (less than eight lines of text), except for an extended entry on the anti-Chalcedonian bishop Paul, who was deposed AD 522. At the end there is a recapitulation of the four disastrous floods which destroyed the city walls in 201, 303, 413 and 525, beginning with a paradoxical allusion to the blessing given to Edessa, by Christ himself, promising that those walls would be immune to siege until the end of the world. The sentence in question reads as follows (I translate literally to communicate the immediacy of the original): "As we have learned from the historical records, behold, four times water is breaching the walls of the Blessed City and throwing down her towers and drowning her children, behold since the Messiah ascended to his glorious Father." (It was after the Ascension, according to the legend, that the promise of immunity was given to Edessa.) This chronicle is a rhetorical statement which relies on the juxtaposition of selected events from the history of Edessa and of the world to put events around the year 540 in a particular perspective. Once again the Persians were on the war-path. Once again, as in AD 503, Edessa had escaped the fate of other cities. But the same question had arisen: who was to blame, in theological terms, for the sack of Antioch and other cities? The author of *Chron. Edessa 540* was a supporter of the reigning emperor, Justinian, and of his ecclesiastical policy. Reading between the lines, we can see a case made out in this chronicle for blaming the 'Monophysite heresy' which was so strong in the patriarchate of Antioch for the war. Heresy had also been the underlying cause of the four floods which destroyed Edessa, most recently in AD 525. Since God had promised Edessa that it would not be sacked by the enemy, flooding was the most drastic means he had of teaching them a lesson. (There were tens of thousands of casualties and many buildings were ruined.) What the writer hoped to achieve by composing this chronicle is a question to which I shall return elsewhere (I touched upon it in Palmer 1988a, 124).

Chron. Edessa 506 starts with an excursus on the history of the relations between Byzantium and Persia; *Chron. Edessa 540* begins in AD 201, jumps back to the Hellenistic period, then reports select events in order up to AD 540 and ends with a recapitulation of the history of flooding in Edessa since AD 201. This method of moving the finger back and forth over the page of history seems characteristic of the genre. There were also chronicles which introduced an event or a series of events from sacred or from secular history into a sequence of later dates. The so-called *Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum domini 724 pertinens* contains a rubric headed: "Explanatory note consisting of annalistic information on a wide range of subjects, beginning with an earthquake that occurred at Antioch." This rubric jumps backwards and forwards between the seventh century, when it was composed, and the first century of the Church's existence, and introduces a theological statement concerning the centurion at the foot of the Cross of Christ between two related pieces of historical information on the sixth century (see Palmer 1992; Palmer 1993, 5-24). These 'flash-backs' appear to be used to suggest diagonal links between the parallel vertical structures of sacred and secular history. If this interpretation is correct, then our inscription, with its 'flash-back' from the late eighth century to the Passion of Christ, can be seen as belonging to the same genre. Baumstark (1922, 274 n. 3) did indeed make this connection, although he could not see any sense in either the last-mentioned chronicle or the inscription at Ehresh.

4 Exegesis

What, then, can be made of these two inscriptions, which, to judge by the letter-forms and the decorative drill-holes, one hand carved and to which, in that case, one mind must have given meaning?

The East Wall Inscription contains verses associated with the power of the Cross for victory, although Psalm 44 wrestles with the problem of the defeat of God's chosen people. A long period of Muslim rule could lead Christian subjects of the Muslims to reinterpret this victory in terms of the mere survival of their religious community, or to interiorize it. But as long as the Christian Empire of Byzantium could hold its own in war with the Muslims, Christian subjects of the Muslims near the border with Byzantium must have wondered whether the victory of the Cross should be envisaged in literal, military terms. The purge by al-Mahdī in AD 780 seems to have suggested to at least one Jacobite Christian that history was approaching its apocalyptic end.

The obscurity of the South Wall Inscription is surely intentional: the reader was meant to puzzle over it long and hard. Our survey of the Syriac chronographic genre gives us some important clues. The famine and the eclipse are there because they are signs of God's wrath. The suffering of Christ is recorded between two events of recent history to invest them with a special significance. Most importantly, the eight events recorded are somehow to be connected: the Syrians used chronography to prove a particular point and to attain a certain purpose. The coming of the Messiah, of Muḥammad ("the Arabs") and of al-

Mahdī form a significant series, cutting through the rest of history. The Battle of Šiffin, the famine and the eclipse form another. The 'entry' of the people of Mar'ash into slavery is parallel to the 'entry' of al-Mahdī "as far as Gihōn" and both stand in some relationship of meaning with "our sins" and the suffering of the Messiah, which are placed between them. The caliph is referred to not as 'king of the Arabs' (the usual Syriac term for him) but as 'Commander of the Faithful', a title which only Muslims could consistently accept and use. Yet the inscription was certainly not made by a Muslim, for it mentions the suffering of Christ.

Could Part Two of the South Wall Inscription have been added as an afterthought, as a supplement adding a new example? A case can be made out for seeing Part One as originally complete in itself. The seven sections give it a certain completeness and it ends impressively with a long drawn-out sigh: Ḥāšš Mšīḥō (note the phonetic symmetry of the fricatives HETH and SHIN). The juxtaposition of Christ's Passion with the deportation might be intended to suggest a theological dimension, giving meaning to this human suffering. Later the sequence of years might have seemed to invite a supplement.

While this would absolve us from seeing the whole of Part One in the light of Part Two, it would leave us with the question why al-Mahdī is referred to as 'the Commander of the Faithful'.¹⁷ Besides, we should then have to find another explanation for the selection of this remarkable series of events from the past.

My own feeling is that Part One is incomplete without Part Two. The way the Arabs are introduced in a phrase closely modelled on the opening notice about the Messiah suggests to me the statement of two themes in a piece of music, which should come together again at the end. If Part Two is added to Part One, the parallel is clearly restated, for then the second notice about the Messiah is followed immediately by a notice about the 'Commander of the Faithful', who in this case called himself the Mahdī. Even the verbal echo is there: first Christ came, then the Arabs came, then the caliph came; the people of Mar'ash entered Byzantine territory, then the caliph entered it. Concepts are echoed as well as words: first the Messiah was injured, then "the Mahdī" injured the Church of Christ. The symmetries are not merely retrospective, for the earlier statements to which they refer would be suspended pointlessly without an balancing answer at the end.

If Part One was never a self-contained unity, then another explanation is needed for the fact that Part Two is inscribed in smaller characters, but that could be simply because the mason overcompensated: the whole text, executed in the larger script, might not have fitted on the stone. Anxiety about diminishing space on the stone accounts for the gradual reduction in the size of the letters of an inscription at Qartmīn Abbey (Palmer 1987, A.6, 64-7; Palmer 1990a, 223). In the case of the Ehresh inscription, the division into dated sections gave the mason pause after the seventh section to estimate the space left for the whole of

17 To posit Muslim authorship of a unobtrusive supplement to a Syriac Christian inscription without any denial of the statement that Christ suffered would be to overburden credulity, especially since there is no evidence of Muslims ever having written in Syriac.

the long eighth section; hence the sudden reduction in the size of the letters. Anxiety about space could also account for the initial omission of the name *Mahdī*, in apposition to the title 'Commander of the Faithful', though this might really be an afterthought.

The inscription ends on a black note, with the destruction of churches and the forced conversion of a tribe of Jacobite Bedouin to Islam. Yet this is not altogether the last word. The East Wall Inscription may have been read first, on the way to the church; but the writing on the south wall leads the reader back to the south-east corner and invites him to go round that corner and read the words on the east wall again. The south wall faces in the direction from which the Arabs originally came and in which they directed their prayers, whereas the east wall faces the rising sun, with all its associations for Christian worship and eschatological expectation. The psalms quoted here, if read in their entirety, suggest the fervent hope of believers humiliated by a stronger enemy that God will return and go out with their armies once more, as he did in the days of old.

When the late eighth-century Christian author carved these psalm-verses, he may well have been thinking of two different kinds of enemies, metaphorical and literal, interior and exterior. The ascetic tradition promised victory through the sign of the Cross over greed and resentment and even over the sexual urge itself. When visualised as demons these sins and others could be called 'enemies' of mankind. But although Jesus himself had apparently rejected the idea of a messianic kingdom on earth, imposed by the sword, the sign of the Cross had been the Roman empire's standard in battle since the conversion of Constantine. The early Byzantines, like the later Crusaders, could read the psalms with a literal application to the enemies of the Christian empire. If the inscriptions at Ehresh were composed in AD 782, they will have been conceived and read against the background of al-Mahdī's preparations for a full-scale invasion of Asia Minor, which would put the expedition of AD 780 in the shade. The Arab army which took the field in AD 782 was "of unprecedented size": allegedly 95,793 men (Treadgold 188, 67). At the same time there may have been some awareness at Ehresh of the fact that the year 780 had marked the beginning of what Treadgold calls 'the Byzantine revival' and that the Caliphate was already in decline. Perhaps it looked as if the great struggle predicted for the Last Days was about to begin.

The South Wall Inscription also refers to the Arabs as well as to the sins of the Christians. The Cross itself is not named, but the suffering of the Messiah, which took place (though the Koran denies it) on the Cross, is 'writ large' by being placed outside its chronological context. It is the redemptive suffering which brought about the Messiah's victory over death that is the source of the invincible power of the Cross. Sin can always block the flow of that power and delay the redemption of the world.

The Muslims, who had just destroyed many churches and forced a whole tribe of Christians to betray their Faith, are obviously the enemies of the Cross. Since the author of the inscription is a Christian, we have to admit that the title 'Commander of the Faithful' bears a heavy weight of irony. Given the impressionistic juxtaposition of a great battle (*Ṣiffīn*), a famine and an eclipse and the

intrusion of sacred into temporal time, the author might even be experimenting with apocalyptic imagery. Matthew 24:5ff contains most of the elements incorporated in the inscription: war (Mt 24:6), famine (Mt 24:7), eclipse (Mt 24:29), captivity (compare Mt 24:9). If *Muḥammad* is understood to be one of the false prophets predicted at Mt 24:5, 11 and 24, then the coming of the Arabs fits in with this scriptural apocalypse as well. The 'Commander of the Faithful', following directly on the suffering of the genuine Messiah, might be the Son of Perdition (II Thess. 2:3ff), often known as the False Messiah. This is suggested to the number-conscious reader by the fact that the coming of al-Mahdī occupies the eighth place in the series, because the 'eighth day' was the day "when He comes to make all things new". Apocalyptic literature envisaged the return of deported peoples to the land of their birth and the reconstruction of ruined churches (see Ps.-Methodius, transl. Alexander 1985, 49; Palmer 1993, 238). The South Wall Inscription at Ehresh sets the scene for these things to occur by relating the deportation of people and the destruction of churches. Indeed, if the church of St Sergius is itself a late building, as some features of its masonry and design suggest (Hellenkemper hazards a guess at the ninth century, but the longer inscription suggests a date shortly after AD 780, which is compatible with the letter-forms), it may have been a rebuilding of an earlier building pulled down by the Arabs.

As for the apostasy of the Banū Tanūkh, it fits in with I Tim. 4:1 and Luke 18:8 (quoted by Ps.-Methodius, transl. Alexander 1985, 47; Palmer 1993, 235). Even the name *Gīḥōn* might conceivably have been meant to suggest apocalyptic associations; *Gīḥōn* at Jerusalem was linked with anointing a king, while the biblical river *Gīḥōn* encircled the land of Kush, and Byzantium, in the apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius, was identified with Kush for the purpose of applying Psalm 68:31 ("Kush will hand over to God") to the history of the author's time (Palmer 1993, 223f.). "For there is no people or kingdom under heaven that can overpower the kingdom of the Christians as long as it possesses a place of refuge in the life-giving Cross" (transl. Alexander 1985, 42). However, these associations seem far-fetched, when we learn from the Arabic chronicles that al-Mahdī went as far as the river or a place called *Jayḥān*, and that *Jayḥūn* is an acceptable variant of that name; for *Gīḥōn* and *Jayḥūn* would be written identically in Syriac (*gyhwn*).

Although the author was a Jacobite, any hope he may have had of the victory of the Cross through force of arms must have been centred on Byzantium. It is true that the Byzantines had deported the Jacobite population of the Vale of Marʿash and that this is what is referred to in the inscription, where it says "the Vale of Marʿash entered into captivity in Byzantine territory"; but it adds "because of our sins" and it does not identify the Byzantines explicitly as the agents of this evil. Perhaps among other sins the author had in mind the sins which had caused Christian disunity and so facilitated the Arab conquest. The Melkites of Marʿash had been deported by the Arabs for aiding and abetting the Byzantines on whose frontier they lived. It is likely enough that the Byzantines gave a similar pretext for deporting the Jacobites of the area a few years later.

However, it may be that the sins he refers to should be envisaged less on the political level and more on the level of personal morality. It is important to

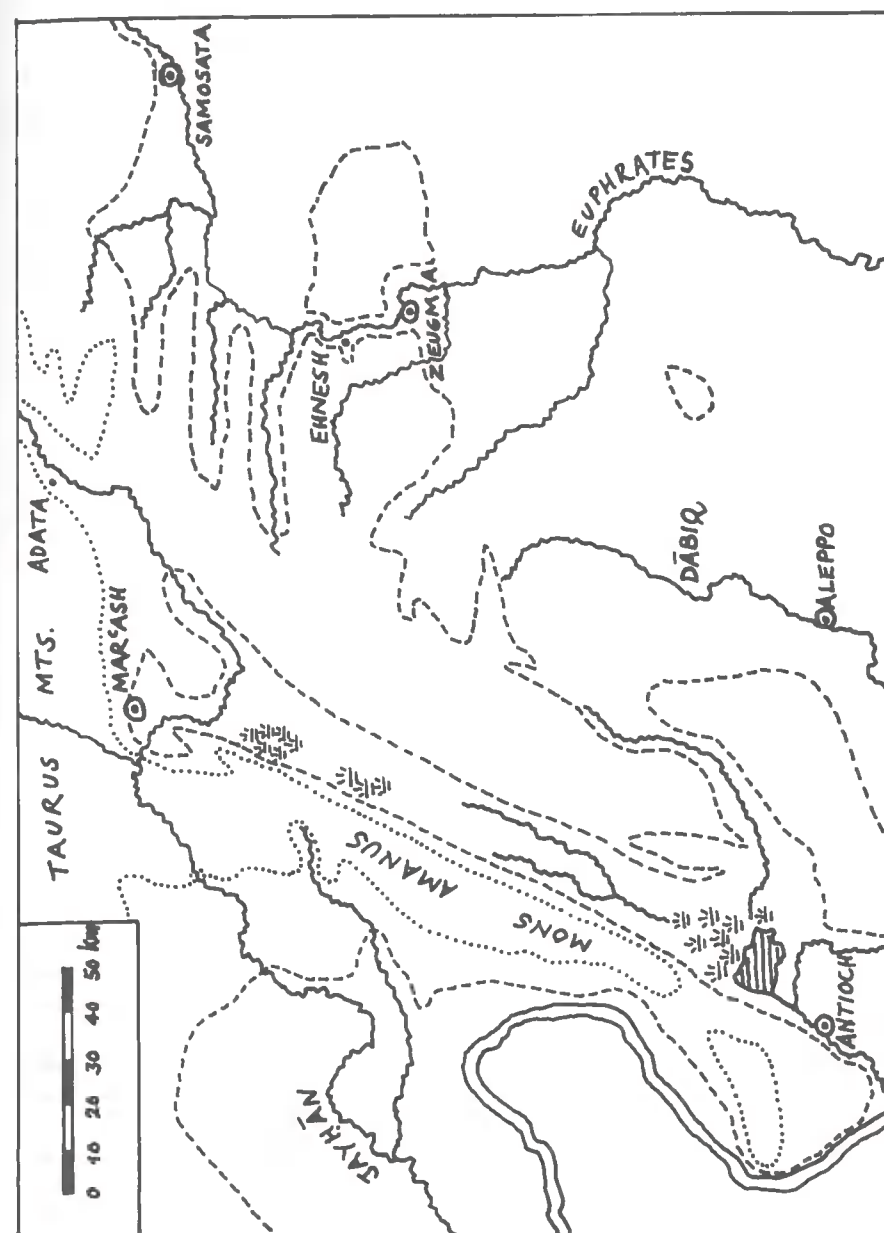
remember the physical context of the inscriptions. They will have been seen by village people when they came to the church of St Sergius, which they will have done *en masse* on the martyr's feast-day. Cumont saw the Armenian villagers enjoying a barbecue by the spring just below the church after the celebration of the Eucharist. Such occasions, when young men and women encountered each other outside the village, drank wine and danced together, were a notorious danger to village morals. It is instructive to read Michael, *Chronicle*, 11.6a, p. 417 of the Syriac text, with reference to the seventh century:

Later, when the Arabs heard of the festival which took place at the monastery of St Simeon the Stylite in the region of Antioch, they appeared there and took captive a large number of men and women and innumerable boys and girls. The Christians who were left no longer knew what to believe. Some of them said, "Why does God allow this to happen?" But a discerning person will see that Justice permitted this because, instead of fasting, vigils and psalm-singing, the Christians used to yield to intemperance, drunkenness, dancing and other kinds of luxury and debauchery at the festivals of the martyrs, thus angering God. That is why, quite justly, he punished us with this blow, in order that we might improve our behaviour.

Perhaps the parish-priest of Ehresh made the same connection between the degeneracy of his congregation and the successes of the Arabs. Conversely, the verse-homily on St Sergius by Jacob of Serugh, which was a model for Jacobite homilies on this martyr's feast-day, emphasizes Sergius's connection with the defence of the Eastern Roman frontier and attributes his victorious power to his participation in the Passion of the Messiah.¹⁸ We are constantly reminded that the world can only be saved from pollution if everyone considers the effects of his daily conduct on the environment and acts accordingly. Just so, sin, even if apparently localized, contributes, in the wider theological vision, to the ecological imbalance of the spiritual world. There is something typically Syrian, perhaps, about giving concrete expression to a spiritual metaphor. Sources can evoke deep spiritual and sexual responses from human beings, but in any case a spring outside a village is one of the few places in a 'traditional' society where a young man can encounter a young woman on her own. The priest of Ehresh may have placed an inscription there, above the spring, to remind his congregation on leaving the church that each piece of 'spiritual rubbish' which they might leave behind them after the festive picnic which followed the Eucharist would befoul the earth in God's sight; and that they should beware, because they "knew not the hour" when the Messiah should return. Like Belshazzar, who mixed the wine for his erotic carousals in the vessels of the sanctuary (Daniel 5), the church-goers would look up from their feasting and see, with an indefinite foreboding, that enigmatic writing on the wall.

¹⁸ I am grateful to Elizabeth Fowden for drawing my attention to this text.

Fig. 11. Sketch map of the Vale of Mar'ash and the Upper Euphrates, by A.N. Palmer.



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Djayhān

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Mar'ash

Tanūkh.

NEUE ERKENNTNISSE ZUR SYRISCHEN TEXTGESCHICHTE DES 'PSEUDO-METHODIUS'

Gerrit J. Reinink

In einem kürzlich erschienenen Aufsatz über das Verhältnis der griechischen zur ältesten lateinischen Fassung der 'Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius' hat Th. Frenz einige Einwände erhoben gegen die in den Jahren 1976/8 von A. Lolos herausgegebene, neue Edition der vier griechischen Redaktionen (Lolos 1976 und 1978) dieses ursprünglich Syrisch geschriebenen Werkes (Frenz 1987). Frenz zeigte an einigen Beispielen, dass in den Versuch, die früheste griechische Fassung wiederherzustellen, nicht nur die Textzeugen der ältesten griechischen Redaktion (*Lolos I*), sondern auch die späteren griechischen Redaktionen (*Lolos II, III und IV*) und die lateinische Fassung,¹ die immerhin den ältesten Zeugen des frühesten griechischen Textes darstellt,² einbezogen werden sollten (Frenz 1987, 54). Neuerdings hat W.J. Aerts der Frenzschen Kritik an der Lolos-Ausgabe zugestimmt, allerdings mit der Einschränkung, dass auch der von Frenz im weiteren ausser Acht gelassene syrische Text für die Ermittlung des frühesten griechischen Textes von grösster Bedeutung ist. Aerts zufolge wird "die Wahl, die Lolos aufgrund seiner Auffassungen, z.B. der *lectio difficilior* u. dgl., vorge-

1 Herausgegeben von Sackur 1976, 1-96 (Edition der ältesten lateinischen Fassung auf der Grundlage der 4 ältesten bekannten Handschriften). In der gesamten lateinischen Textüberlieferung lassen sich mindestens 4 Redaktionen unterscheiden; siehe Verhelst 1973, 95-7. Inventar der heute bekannten lateinischen Handschriften der 4 Redaktionen von Laureys-Verhelst 1988. Die 2. Redaktion ist heute zugänglich durch die Edition O. Prinz (1985).

2 Die ältesten lateinischen Handschriften stammen aus dem 8. Jhd, während dagegen die älteste griechische Handschrift aus dem Jahre 1332/3, die übrigen aus dem 15.-17. Jhd stammen (vgl. Frenz 1987, 52). Kortekaas (1988, 63-79) hat neuerdings nachgewiesen, dass von den beiden ältesten lateinischen Textzeugen [Cod. Bern, *Burgerbibliothek* 611 (s. VIII: A.D. 727?) und Cod. Paris. lat. 13348 (s. VIII med.)] der letztere als der bessere Vertreter der ältesten lateinischen Fassung zu betrachten ist.

nommen hat, (...) mehrmals im Licht des syrischen Textes in Abrede gestellt".³ In diesem Beitrag für die Professor Wim Aerts gewidmete Festschrift werde ich an einigen Beispielen zeigen, dass nicht nur der syrische Text für die Wiederherstellung der frühesten griechischen Fassung unentbehrlich ist, sondern dass auch umgekehrt der Fund neuer syrischer Textzeugen ein neues Licht auf die Bedeutung des griechisch-lateinischen Textes für die Ermittlung des syrischen Urtextes wirft.

Bis vor wenigen Jahren war nur eine syrische Handschrift des 'Pseudo-Methodius' bekannt, und zwar der von M. Kmosko wiederentdeckte westsyrische Kodex *Vat. syr. 58* (= V; Kmosko 1931) der in den Jahren 1584/6 von einem Mönch Johannes in Ma'dan in Nord-Mesopotamien, einer Gegend in der Nähe der heutigen Stadt Diyarbakır in der Ost-Türkei, geschrieben worden war.⁴ Kmosko glaubte damals, den syrischen Urtext gefunden zu haben, und beschränkte demnach die Rolle des griechisch-lateinischen Textes auf die Verbesserung der häufigen Abschreibfehler in *Vat. syr. 58*.⁵ In einem Aufsatz aus dem Jahre 1978 machte A. Vööbus uns auf die Existenz dreier westsyrischer Handschriften in der erzbischöflichen Bibliothek der syrisch-orthodoxen Kirche in Mardin (Ost-Türkei) aufmerksam (Vööbus 1976/7): 1. *Mardin Orth. 368*, geschrieben im Jahre 1676 (A.G.) = 1365 (A.D.) von einem Priester David in einem Dorf nördlich von Mardin;⁶ 2. *Mardin Orth. 891*, geschrieben in einer modernen westsyrischen Hand (Ende des 19. Jhdts?);⁷ 3. *Mardin Orth. A*, im

3 Aerts 1990, 127 (zur Aerts' Kritik an Frenz siehe S. 127-30). Die neue Ausgabe, die für das Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Löwen, vorbereitet wird, wird die erste kritische Edition des syrischen Textes mit deutscher Übersetzung (G.J. Reinink) und eine neue Edition der ältesten griechischen (W.J. Aerts) und lateinischen (G.A.A. Kortekaas) Fassungen bieten.

4 Die Handschrift wurde bereits erwähnt von Assemani 1725, 27-8 (Anm. 5). Sie wurde beschrieben in Assemani-Assemani 1758, 342-55. Der Text des 'Pseudo-Methodius' beginnt auf Fol. 118^r und endet auf Fol. 136^v.

5 Kmosko 1931, 276, 285. Kmosko hat überzeugend nachgewiesen, dass die Ursprache des 'Pseudo-Methodius' syrisch und nicht griechisch war (S. 285-6), war aber zu optimistisch in der Annahme, dass der Urtext im *Vat. syr. 58* erhalten sei (vgl. auch Reinink 1983, 51).

6 Diese Handschrift enthält das Werk *De Paradiso* des jakobitischen Autors Mose bar Kepha (gest. 903), 'Pseudo-Methodius' und eine kurze Lebensgeschichte des Mose bar Kepha. Es folgt nach dem Kolophon noch ein kurzer moraltheologischer Traktat, dessen Schluss verlorengegangen ist. Der Text des 'Pseudo-Methodius' beginnt auf Fol. 202^r und endet auf Fol. 221^v nach der heutigen syrischen Numerierung links oben auf dem Rekto (diese Numerierung ist von einer späteren Hand und erst nach dem Verlust einiger Blätter des Heftes 20 durchgeführt worden; siehe weiter unten Anm. 10). Einen Film dieser Handschrift und des 'Pseudo-Methodius'-Textes in der Handschrift *Mardin Orth. 891* erhielt ich durch die Hilfe der Herren Prof. H.J.W. Drijvers und Drs. P. Jager. Fotos des 'Pseudo-Methodius'-Textes in den Manuskripten *Mardin Orth. 891* und *Mardin Orth. A* wurden mir freundlichst zur Verfügung gestellt von Prof. Vööbus (†).

7 Diese Handschrift enthält nach der Mitteilung von Vööbus 1976/7, 2, "a collection of writings of miscellaneous character written in Karšūnī with some in Syriac". Ob diese Handschrift einen Kolophon hat, ist mir unbekannt, da mir nur der Anfang mit dem 'Pseudo-Methodius'-Text zugänglich ist. Sie ist aber ohne Zweifel älter als *Mardin Orth. A*. 'Pseudo-Methodius' beginnt auf Fol. 1^r und endet auf Fol. 7^r. Nach Desreumaux 1991, 186, befindet sich diese Handschrift heute wieder im Dayr az-Za'faran bei Mardin.

Jahre 1956 aus einem älteren Kodex abgeschrieben, der seinerseits von einem Mönch Menḥa aus dem Dorf Ḥaṣḥas geschrieben wurde (Datum unbekannt).⁸ Obwohl Vööbus damals noch glaubte, dass es sich bei dem in diesen Handschriften begegnenden *mēmra* "über das Ende der Zeiten" des Bischofs Methodius von Patara um das Werk eines völlig unbekannten, nach dem Jahre 1000 schreibenden syrischen Autors handelte (Vööbus 1976/7, 3), enthalten diese Manuskripte in Wirklichkeit den Text des syrischen 'Pseudo-Methodius'.⁹ Leider bieten die drei Mardin-Handschriften nicht (mehr) den vollständigen 'Pseudo-Methodius'. In *Mardin Orth. 368* (= M1) sind einige Blätter des Heftes 20 verlorengegangen, weswegen der Anfang des Werkes heute fehlt (der Text beginnt jetzt am Ende des Kap. V,7).¹⁰ Bei den beiden anderen Mardin-Handschriften, *Mardin Orth. 891* (= M2) und *Mardin Orth. A* (= M3), handelt es sich *de facto* um einen Auszug, der lediglich die prophetischen Teile des 'Pseudo-Methodius' enthält. Der Text beginnt mit der Bemerkung in Kap. VIII,2, dass Alexander der Grosse der Sohn des Philippus, des Makedoniers, und der Kūṣyā, der Tochter des Äthiopierkönigs Pīl, war, und setzt sich fort in Kap. IX,1-8, X,1-2,3,6, XI,1, XI,3-XIII,19, XIII,20-XIV,9. Die Eingriffe des Redaktors dieses Auszuges beschränken sich jedoch hauptsächlich auf das Auslassen von Teilen der Apokalypse, so dass der im Auszug überlieferte Text als ein zuverlässiger Zeuge des 'Pseudo-Methodius' betrachtet werden kann.

Obwohl die Mardin-Handschriften alle denselben Texttypus vertreten, gibt es keine direkte Abhängigkeitsbeziehung zwischen ihnen. M2 und M3, die beide den Auszug enthalten, setzen eine gemeinsame ältere Vorlage voraus.¹¹ Der Redaktor des Auszuges kann seinen Auszug nicht auf der Grundlage der Handschrift M1 gemacht haben,¹² so dass für M1 und die gemeinsame ältere Vorlage von M2 und M3 wiederum ein gemeinsamer "Vorfahr" vorausgesetzt werden muss.¹³ Die wichtigste neue Erkenntnis, die aus der Entdeckung der Mardin-

8 Diese Angaben sind Vööbus 1976/7, 2 entnommen. Die Handschrift enthält eine umfassende Sammlung verschiedener Traktate des Mose bar Kepha (nicht aber das Werk *De Paradiso*!); vgl. Vööbus 1973, 28,30,34. 'Pseudo-Methodius' beginnt auf Fol. 180^rA und endet auf Fol. 183^vB (der Text ist in zwei Spalten geschrieben).

9 Siehe Reinink 1983, 49-50; Reinink 1982, 337.

10 Heft 20 enthält jetzt nur 6 Blätter. Wenn Heft 20, wie die Hefte 19 und 21, ursprünglich 10 Blätter umfasste, sind also 4 Blätter verlorengegangen. Infolge des Verlusts dieser Blätter ist nicht nur der Anfang des 'Pseudo-Methodius', sondern auch der Schluss von *De Paradiso* verlorengegangen. Ich zitiere im folgenden nach der Kapitel- und Paragrapheneinteilung der Lolos-Edition.

11 Das erhellt u.a. aus den Stellen, wo M3 mit M1 übereinstimmt gegenüber M2 (auch das umgekehrte Phänomen begegnet, d.h. dass M2 mit M1 übereinstimmt gegenüber M3).

12 Das erhellt u.a. aus den Stellen, wo M2 und M3 zusammen mit V übereinstimmen gegenüber M1.

13 Es ist unsicher, ob es sich bei der gemeinsamen älteren Vorlage von M2 und M3 um den von Menḥa geschriebenen Kodex handelt, der die Vorlage von M3 war. Der Inhalt des Menḥa-Kodex ist im weiteren von der Sammlung in M2 völlig verschieden (siehe oben Anm. 7 und 8). Es bleibt aber theoretisch möglich, dass der Kopist von M2 den Menḥa-Kodex kannte und lediglich 'Pseudo-Methodius' daraus abgeschrieben hat. Ungewiss bleibt auch, ob die gemeinsame Vorlage von M2 und M3 mit der redaktionellen Arbeit des Verfassers des Auszuges verbunden ist oder ob die Textgeschichte des Auszuges noch älter ist, so dass die Vorlage von M2 und M3 lediglich eine bestimmte Phase in der Textüberlieferung des Auszuges vertritt.

Handschriften hervorgegangen ist, ist der Befund, dass V nicht länger als ein Zeuge des syrischen Urtextes betrachtet werden kann.¹⁴ Es gibt viele Lesarten in V, die sich als sekundär im Vergleich mit denen in M1.2.3. erweisen. Sehr oft werden diese besseren Lesarten in M1.2.3 durch den griechisch-lateinischen Text unterstützt, so dass wir hier zweifelsohne dem ursprünglichen Syrer begegnen. Da es sich hier in V nicht immer um einfache Abschreibfehler oder sonstige, im Laufe der Textüberlieferung entstandene Abweichungen handelt, sondern auch der Einfluss einer richtigen Bearbeitung erkennbar wird, ist V wohl als Repräsentant einer besonderen Rezension des 'Pseudo-Methodius' zu betrachten (= *V-Rezension*). Das bedeutet aber nicht, dass wir in den Mardin-Handschriften die Urform des Syrers vor uns haben. Auch die durch M1.2.3 vertretene Textform enthält mehrere Lesarten, die als sekundär zu betrachten sind, wo V gegen M1.2.3 mit dem griechisch-lateinischen Text übereinstimmt. Auch in M1.2.3 gibt es erhebliche Differenzen, die auf redaktionelle Eingriffe hindeuten, die den Mardin-Texttypus als eine besondere Rezension charakterisieren (= *M-Rezension*). Wir können also heute in der syrischen Textüberlieferung zwei verschiedene Rezensionen unterscheiden, von denen keine *in toto* den syrischen Urtext repräsentiert, die aber beide ihren eigenen Wert für die Wiederherstellung desselben haben. Wo die *V-Rezension* und die *M-Rezension* voneinander abweichen, hat der griechisch-lateinische Text als Vergleichsmöglichkeit eine wichtige Rolle zu erfüllen. Die folgenden Beispiele mögen nun zeigen, dass der griechisch-lateinische Text tatsächlich eine entscheidende Rolle spielen kann in mehreren mit den Differenzen zwischen der *V-Rezension* und der *M-Rezension* zusammenhängenden Ursprünglichkeitsfragen.

In der folgenden Auswahl stellt die *M-Rezension* den syrischen Urtext besser dar als die *V-Rezension*:

a) In Kap. V,8, in dem 'Pseudo-Methodius' im Rahmen der geschichtlichen Darstellung des 5. Millenniums die zukünftigen Eroberungen der "Söhne Ismaels" (Araber) vorhersagt, heisst es in V, dass die Araber die Länder *vom Norden bis zum grossen Rom und bis zum grossen Meer des Pontos* ergreifen werden.¹⁵ M1 (dieser Teil fehlt in M2.3) hat dagegen: *vom Norden bis Rom und Lariqon* (lege 'Alurīqōn = Illyrien) und *Gagatīōs und Thessalonich und bis zum grossen Meer des Pontos*;¹⁶ vgl. dazu G: ἀπὸ Βορρᾶ ἕως 'Ρώμης, καὶ τοῦ 'Ιλλυρικοῦ καὶ Γιγητοῦ καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ 'Αλβανίας, καὶ ἕως τῆς θαλάσσης τοῦ Πόντου,¹⁷ und L: *ab aquilone usque Romam et Illirico et Gigitum et Thessalonicam et Olbaniae et usque ad mare qui Ponto mittit*¹⁸. Ausser dem

¹⁴ Siehe oben Anm. 5.

¹⁵ Ed. Martinez 1985, 60, 50-1. Ich zitiere im folgenden V nach der Edition von Martinez 1985, 58-121 (englische Übersetzung: 122-201). Eine (leider unzuverlässige) Edition mit deutscher Übersetzung von V wurde veröffentlicht von Suermann 1985, 34-85 (vgl. dazu die Rezension von Brock (1987). Eine weitere englische Übersetzung von V von P.J. Alexander ist postum erschienen: Alexander 1985, 36-51.

¹⁶ Fol. 202^r, 8-11: *mn grby' 'dm' l'wmy will'ryqwn wlggtiws 'p lt'slwnygy w'dm' lym' rb' dpnṭws*.

¹⁷ Ed. Lolos 1976, 70, 41-43.

¹⁸ Ed. Sackur 1976, 68, 21-69, 1.

Zusatz von Albanien in G,L¹⁹ stimmt die Liste in M1 mit dem griechisch-lateinischen Text überein. Der Redaktor der *V-Rezension* hat die Liste gekürzt und die Bezeichnung Roms als "das grosse Rom" dem Kap. V,4 entnommen.²⁰

b) In Kap. VIII,1 heisst es in V, dass die vier Königreiche (Äthiopier, Makedonier, Griechen und Römer) einander *überwältigt* haben: *Höre jetzt über diese vier Königreiche, wie sie überwältigt wurden, das eine durch das andere...*²¹ Wie auch F.J. Martinez richtig bemerkt hat,²² muss hier vielmehr mit G: "Ἀκούε τοίνυν αὐθις ... πῶς αἱ τέσσαρες βασιλεῖαι ἀλλήλαις συνήφθησαν"²³ gelesen werden (vgl. L: *Audi igitur nunc..., quomodo quattuor haec regna convincerunt sibi*),²⁴ was von M1 (Kap. VIII,1 fehlt in M2.3) bestätigt wird: *Höre jetzt auf mich, und ich werde über diese vier Königreiche sagen, wie sie miteinander vereinigt wurden...*²⁵ Der Redaktor der *V-Rezension* hat hier den Text von Kap. VIII,1 dem Wortlaut des Kap. VII,1 angepasst, wo über die Königreiche der Babylonier, der Meder und der Perser usw. gesagt wird, dass sie einander *überwältigten*.²⁶

Im folgenden Teil des Kap. VIII,1 basiert 'Pseudo-Methodius' sich auf das Zitat Dan. 7,2, in dem V dem Wortlaut des syrischen Bibeltextes folgt: *Und diese waren die vier Winde des Himmels, die Daniel sah, die das grosse Meer aufwühlten*.²⁷ Das in V benutzte Verbum für *aufwühlen* (*mgyn*) stimmt mit der syrischen Bibel überein, während M1 hier das Verbum *mzy'n* "heftig bewegen, erbeben lassen" hat,²⁸ das auch der griechische Übersetzer in seiner syrischen Vorlage vorfand: συσσειόντας²⁹ (vgl. L: *commoventes*).³⁰ Der Redaktor der *V-Rezension* hat hier das Zitat Dan. 7,2 in 'Pseudo-Methodius' dem Wortlaut des syrischen Bibeltextes angepasst. 'Pseudo-Methodius' gibt die Bibelzitate gewöhnlich sehr frei wieder, und oft handelt es sich vielmehr um Anspielungen auf den Bibeltext.

c) In Kap. VIII,5 begründet V die Hinausführung der unreinen Völker Japhets aus dem Osten und ihre Einschliessung in die Grenzgebiete des Nordens durch Alexander den Grossen mit folgenden Worten: *Und als Alexander ihre Unreinheit sah, rief er Gott zu Hilfe*.³¹ M1 (auch dieser Teil fehlt in M2.3) bietet einen längeren Text: *Und als Alexander ihre Unreinheit und ihren Gestank sah, rief er, damit sie nicht zu diesem heiligen Land hinaufsteigen und es verunreinigen*

¹⁹ Ich bezweifle ob "Albanien" in dem syrischen Urtext erwähnt wurde. Vielleicht handelt es sich um einen Zusatz, der dem griechischen Übersetzer zuzuschreiben ist.

²⁰ Ed. Martinez 1985, 64, 22; Ed. Lolos 1976, 66, 22; Ed. Sackur 1976, 67, 17.

²¹ Ed. Martinez 1985, 69, 1-2.

²² Martinez 1985, 171 (Anm. 1 zur Übersetzung).

²³ Ed. Lolos 1976, 76, 1-3.

²⁴ Ed. Sackur 1976, 72, 1-2.

²⁵ Fol. 203^v, 9-11: *whš' šwm'wny w'mr mṭlḥyn 'rb' mlkw' d'ykn 'thydy ḥd' 'm ḥd'*.

²⁶ Ed. Martinez 1985, 68, 1; M1, Fol. 203^r, 16; das umgekehrte Phänomen tritt in G und L auf, die in Kap. VII,1 *συνήφθησαν* (Ed. Lolos 1976, 74, 22), *conmixti sunt* (Ed. Sackur 1976, 71, 4) lesen, was sicherlich sekundär ist im Vergleich zur Lesart in V und M1; vgl. auch Martinez 1985, 169-70 (Anm. 1 zur Übersetzung).

²⁷ Ed. Martinez 1985, 69, 5-6.

²⁸ Fol. 203^v, 15.

²⁹ Ed. Lolos 1976, 76, 4. Vgl. dagegen die LXX: ἐνέπεσον, und Θ: προσέβαλλον (εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεγάλην).

³⁰ Ed. Sackur 1976, 72, 3.

³¹ Ed. Martinez 1985, 69, 22-3.

würden, Gott zu Hilfe.³² Diese längere Version, die sich auch in G³³ und in L³⁴ findet, wurde vom Redaktor der *V-Rezension* gekürzt, wahrscheinlich weil er die Erwähnung des *heiligen Landes* unzutreffend fand.³⁵

d) In Kap. IX,7-8 wird in M1 und in G,L Psalm 68,31: *Äthiopien wird die Macht Gott übergeben*, zweimal zitiert.³⁶ V dagegen hat nur das Zitat in IX,8, weil der Redaktor der *V-Rezension* den Text des 'Pseudo-Methodius' hier zusammenfassend kürzte.³⁷

e) In Kap. XI,16, wo 'Pseudo-Methodius' die von den Arabern verursachten Schrecknisse beschreibt, wird in V von dem Weg, über den die Araber reisen, gesagt: *Und es wird ein Weg zu den Bedrängnissen sein*.³⁸ In M1.2.3 dagegen heisst es: *Und es wird ein Weg der Bedrängnis genannt werden*;³⁹ so auch in G: *καὶ κληθήσεται ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτῶν ὁδὸς στενοχωρίας*,⁴⁰ und in L: *et vocabitur iter eorum viam angustiae*.⁴¹ Der Redaktor der *V-Rezension* hat hier den ursprünglichen Text absichtlich geändert, weil er betonen wollte, dass die (im folgenden erwähnten) über diesen Weg reisenden Gefangenen zu den Bedrängnissen der Sklaverei geführt werden.⁴²

f) In Kap. XIII,3 heisst es in V, dass die Menschen infolge der harten, von den Arabern auferlegten Steuer kein Geld mehr haben, so dass sie dazu gezwungen sind, *ihre erzenen und eisernen Gegenstände und ihre Waffen* zu verkaufen.⁴³ In M1.2.3 ist anstelle der "Waffen" von ihren *Leichentüchern* die Rede.⁴⁴ So auch in G,L: *τὰ ἐντάφια*,⁴⁵ *mortalia vestimenta*.⁴⁶ Die Liste in M1.2.3 und G,L ist sicherlich die ursprünglichere (es handelt sich um die letzten Gegenstände, die den Menschen noch übrig bleiben), während die *V-Rezension*, durch die Erwähnung der Metalle dazu veranlasst, die *Leichentücher* durch *Waffen* ersetzt hat.

32 Fol. 204^r, 2-6: *wkd hz' 'lksndwrws lnpwthwn wlzprwt' dylhwn dl' nsqwn l'r' hd' mqdšt' wntipwnh qr' 'lh' f'wdmh*.

33 Ed. Lolos 1976, 78, 21-23.

34 Ed. Sackur 1976, 73, 7-11.

35 Das "heilige Land" bezieht sich in erster Linie auf das Land Israel (vgl. auch Kap. VIII,10 und die Anspielung dort auf Hes. 38, 15-16, 18). Dem Redaktor der *V-Rezension* schwebte wohl die sich auf die ganze Welt beziehende Verunreinigung durch die eschatologischen Völker vor (vgl. Kap. VIII,9 im syrischen Text und Kap. XIII,19). Vgl. zu diesem Passus auch Aerts 1990, 126.

36 M1: Fol. 207^v, 5-6, 16; Ed. Lolos 1976, 88, 35-36, 41-42; Ed. Sackur 1976, 77, 6, 14. Auch M2.3 haben das Zitat in Kap. IX,7 (M2: Fol. 1^v, 13; M3: Fol. 180^vA, 5). Das zweite Zitat in Kap. IX,8 fehlt in M2.3, weil der Redaktor des von M2.3 vertretenen Auszuges den Schluss des Kap. IX,8 ausliess.

37 Ed. Martinez 1985, 74, 51-52.

38 Ed. Martinez 1985, 80, 89.

39 *wttqr' 'wrh' d'wšn'* (M1: Fol. 213^r, 7-8; M2: Fol. 3^v, 3; M3: Fol. 181^vA, 7).

40 Ed. Lolos 1976, 106, 85.

41 Ed. Sackur 1976, 84, 23-4.

42 Ed. Martinez 1985, 80, 90-92; M1: Fol. 213^r, 8-11; M2: Fol. 3^v, 4-5; M3: Fol. 181^vA, 7-10; Ed. Lolos 1976, 107, 85-108, 1; Ed. Sackur 1976, 84, 24-6.

43 Ed. Martinez 1985, 85, 16-17.

44 *m'ny qbwthwn* (M1: Fol. 216^r, 3; M2: Fol. 5^r, 4-5; M3: Fol. 182^rB, 24-25).

45 Ed. Lolos 1976, 118, 15.

46 Ed. Sackur 1976, 88, 19-20.

g) In Kap. XIII,11 heisst es in V, dass die "Söhne des Königs der Griechen"⁴⁷ in dem vernichtenden Kampf gegen die Araber die *Gebiete der Wüste ergreifen werden*.⁴⁸ M1.2.3 dagegen sagen, dass sie *gegen sie* (d.h. die Araber) *hinabsteigen werden aus den Gebieten des Westens*.⁴⁹ G und L haben im Einklang mit der *M-Rezension*: *κατέλθωσι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως*,⁵⁰ *discendent filii regis*.⁵¹ Die Worte *aus den Gebieten des Westens* fehlen zwar in G, L. Sie müssen aber im syrischen Urtext gestanden haben, da die in V erwähnten *Gebiete der Wüste* die Lesart in M1.2.3 voraussetzen.

h) Als letztes Beispiel in dieser Reihe nenne ich Kap. XIII,13, wo V die Folgen des Auftretens des byzantinischen Kaisers für die Araber wie folgt beschreibt: *Und es wird ihre Sklaverei* (d.h. die den Arabern auferlegte Sklaverei) *hundert Mal schwerer sein als ihr eignes Joch* (d.h. das von den Arabern den Christen auferlegte Joch).⁵² In M1.2.3 heisst es dagegen: *Und es wird das Joch ihrer Sklaverei* (d.h. das vom byzantinischen Kaiser den Arabern auferlegte Joch) *sieben Mal schwerer sein als ihr eignes Joch* (d.h. das von den Arabern den Christen auferlegte Joch).⁵³ Auch hier vertritt die *M-Rezension* den besseren Text, wie aus G, L hervorgeht: *καὶ ἔσται ὁ ζυγὸς τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπ'αὐτοὺς ἑπταπλασίονα, οὗ ἦν ὁ ζυγὸς αὐτῶν ἐπ'αὐτοὺς*,⁵⁴ *Et erit rex Romanorum imponens iugum suum super eos septiens tantum quod erat iugum eorum super terra*.⁵⁵ Auch hier hat der Redaktor der *V-Rezension* den Text zum Teil dem folgenden angepasst, wo es (auch in M1.2.3, G,L) heisst, dass die den Arabern auferlegte Sklaverei *hundert Mal* bitterer sein wird als der von den Arabern den Christen auferlegte Sklavendienst.⁵⁶

Die Beispiele, in denen die *V-Rezension* den syrischen Urtext besser vertritt als die *M-Rezension*, sind nicht weniger zahlreich. Im folgenden beschränke ich mich auf einige Beispiele, aus denen hervorgeht, dass der Redaktor der *M-Rezension* den syrischen Urtext absichtlich gekürzt oder erweitert hat:

a) In Kap. XI,5 erklärt 'Pseudo-Methodius', weshalb Gott es den Arabern erlaubt habe, in das Königreich der Christen hineinzugehen und die östlichen byzantinischen Gebiete zu erobern: Das geschah nicht, weil Gott eine besondere Liebe hegte für die Muslime, sondern weil er die Christen wegen ihrer Sünden und Ungerechtigkeit kasteien wollte. In Kap. XI, 6-7 beschreibt 'Pseudo-Methodius' diese Sünden der Christen in ziemlich realistischer Weise: Es handelt

47 Gemeint sind die Byzantiner; siehe Reinink 1984, 198-9.

48 Ed. Martinez 1985, 87, 55-6.

49 *wnhwn 'lyhwn bny mlk' dywny' mn 'trwt' dm'rb'* (M1: Fol. 217^r, 12-13; M2: Fol. 5^v, 11-12; M3: Fol. 182^vB, 13-15).

50 Ed. Lolos 1976, 124, 62.

51 Ed. Sackur 1976, 90, 4.

52 Ed. Martinez 1985, 87, 62-3.

53 *wnhw' hsyn nyr' dšw'bdhwn hā bšb' dnyrhwn dhlyn* (M1: Fol. 217^v, 4-5; M2: Fol. 5^v, 16; M3: Fol. 182^vB, 23-25).

54 Ed. Lolos 1976, 124, 68-69.

55 Ed. Sackur 1976, 90, 10-1.

56 Ed. Martinez 1985, 87, 66-7; M1: Fol. 217^v, 9-10; M2: Fol. 5^v, 16-6^v, 1; M3: Fol. 183^vA, 1-2; Ed. Lolos 1976, 126, 2-3; Ed. Sackur 1976, 90, 14-5.

sich um sexuelle Sünden, wie die Unzucht der Männer einer Familie mit einer Hure und Homosexualität. Der ganze Passus, der auch in G und L begegnet,⁵⁷ wurde in M1.2.3 ausgelassen, zweifelsohne weil der Redaktor der *M-Rezension* ihn als allzu anstössig empfand.

b) In Kap. XI,13 fügen M1.2.3 der Beschreibung des Hochmuts der Muslime die folgenden Worte hinzu: *Und es wird alle Menschen Schrecken und Zittern und Furcht befallen. Und es wird Gefangenschaft und grosses Gemetzel geben. Und es werden diejenigen, die in Syrien wohnen, in grosser Bedrängnis sein.*⁵⁸ Diese Worte, die in V und in G,L fehlen, sind vom Redaktor der *M-Rezension* offenbar hinzugefügt worden, um die Nöte der Bevölkerung Syriens hervorzuheben.

c) In Kap. XIV,3, in der Abdikationsszene des byzantinischen Endkaisers, der nach der Erscheinung des Antichrist auf Golgotha Gott dem Vater das irdische Königtum übergibt, wird in V und in G,L gesagt, dass der "König der Griechen" seine Krone auf die Spitze des heiligen Kreuzes setzen, seine beiden Hände zum Himmel ausstrecken und das Königreich Gott dem Vater übergeben wird.⁵⁹ M1.2.3 lassen aber den Endkaiser, als er die Hände zum Himmel ausstreckt, dabei folgende Worte sprechen: *Und er (d.h. der Endkaiser) wird sagen: < Herr, Gott, dir sind die Krone und die Macht gegeben! >*⁶⁰ Es handelt sich um eine erbauliche Ausschmückung, die dem Redaktor der *M-Rezension* zuzuschreiben ist.

Zum Schluss werde ich ein Beispiel dafür geben, dass der ursprüngliche syrische Text lediglich mit Hilfe von G,L aus Textelementen sowohl der *V-Rezension* wie auch der *M-Rezension* rekonstruiert werden kann:

In Kap. XI,15, wo die durch die arabisch-islamischen Eroberungen herbeigeführten Schrecknisse beschrieben werden, erscheint in V ein ziemlich dunkler Satz: *wthw' wrh' dmrdythwn mnhwn wbhwn*, der von H. Suermann wie folgt übersetzt wird: *Und es ist der Weg ihrer Kasteiung von ihnen und durch sie.*⁶¹ P.J. Alexander dagegen gibt folgende Übersetzung: *And the route of their [the Arabs] advance will be from them [inhabitants] and by them.*⁶² während F.J. Martinez aufgrund des Griechischen⁶³ das Wort *mrdythwn* in *mrwthwn* korrigiert und folgende Übersetzung bietet: *Their manner of education will be unique to themselves.*⁶⁴ Der von M1.2.3 gebotene Text leuchtet aber viel mehr ein: *wthw' hkmthwn mnhwn wbhwn: Und es wird ihre Weisheit nur von ihnen selbst sein.*⁶⁵ Gemeint ist im polemischen Sinne, dass die Araber eine eigene, absurde Weisheit haben, durch die der Kleine wie ein Grosser und der Verächtliche wie ein

Ehrwürdiger betrachtet werden.⁶⁶ Der griechische Übersetzer hat den richtigen Sinn verstanden: *καὶ ἔσται ἡ σοφία αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ παιδείσις αὐτοφύης ...* (vgl. L: *Et erit sapientia eorum et disciplina prodiens a semet ipsa...*⁶⁸). Es fehlen aber in M1.2.3 die Worte *ἡ παιδείσις/et disciplina*. Es ist äusserst wahrscheinlich, dass auch diese im syrischen Urtext gestanden haben, da die von V gebotene Version erklärt werden kann, wenn angenommen wird, dass der Redaktor der *V-Rezension* ein ursprünglich geschriebenes *wmrwthwn*, und ihre Ausbildung, in Anlehnung an XI,16 änderte in *'wrh' dmrdythwn*, ihr Reiseweg.⁶⁹ Der Redaktor der *V-Rezension* hat also den ursprünglichen syrischen Text völlig umgedeutet (wahrscheinlich weil er der Meinung war, dass die den Arabern zugeschriebene "Weisheit und Ausbildung" im positiven Sinne fehlgedeutet werden könnte), und der Redaktor der *M-Rezension* hat die Worte *und ihre Ausbildung* ausgelassen. Es darf also angenommen werden, dass im ursprünglichen Syrischen zu lesen war: *Und es werden ihre Weisheit und ihre Ausbildung nur von ihnen selbst sein.*

Zusammenfassend kann festgestellt werden, dass die Entdeckung der Mardin-Handschriften zu der Erkenntnis führt, dass die syrische Textgeschichte des 'Pseudo-Methodius' wesentlich komplizierter ist als bislang angenommen wurde. Eigentlich ist diese Feststellung weniger erstaunlich, wenn man sich vergegenwärtigt, dass 'Pseudo-Methodius', wie in Byzanz und West-Europa, so auch in dem unter muslimischer Herrschaft stehenden christlichen Osten jahrhundertlang zu den verbreitetsten und einflussreichsten apokalyptischen Texten gehörte.⁷⁰ Im Jahre 691 oder 692 in Kreisen des syrischen Christentums Nord-Mesopotamiens in Reaktion auf die politisch-religiöse Propaganda des kraftvollen umayyadischen Kalifs 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān und die wachsende Gefahr der Konversion der Christen zum Islam entstanden,⁷¹ wurde der syrische 'Pseudo-Methodius' wahrscheinlich noch vor dem Ende des 7. Jhdts ins Griechische übertragen. Die griechische Fassung kam bald, über Wege, die bis heute im dunkeln liegen, ins lateinische Abendland, wo sie, jedenfalls vor etwa dem Jahre 725, von einem gewissen Mönch Petrus ins Lateinische übersetzt wurde.⁷² Der syrische Urtext, der so

57 Ed. Martinez 1985, 78, 26-39; Ed. Lolos 1976, 98, 23-100, 36; Ed. Sackur 1976, 81, 17-82, 7.

58 *wtply zw't' wr't' wd'lt' bklhwn bnyš' wnhw' šby' w'rb' rbt' wnhwn 'ylyn d'mryn bswry' b'wlšn' rb'* (M1: Fol. 212^r, 3-7; M2: Fol. 3^r, 1-3; M3: Fol. 181^rA, 24-27).

59 Ed. Martinez 1985, 90, 12-15; Ed. Lolos 1976, 132, 10-13; Ed. Sackur 1976, 93, 16-18.

60 *w'mmry' 'lh' yhyb lk t'g' wš wly' (M1: Fol. 219^v, 8-9; M2: Fol. 6^v, 12-13; M3: Fol. 183^vA, 4-5).*

61 Suermann 1985, 66, 391-2.

62 Alexander 1985, 46, 2-4.

63 Ed. Martinez 1985, 80, 83 (S. 112, Anm. 15).

64 Übers. Martinez 1985, 143, 14-5.

65 M1: Fol. 212^v, 16-213^r, 1; M2: Fol. 3^r, 17; M3: Fol. 181^rB, 25-26 (in M3 folgt auf *hkmthwn* noch ein sekundäres *w'bdnhwn*).

66 Ed. Martinez 1985, 80, 84; M1: Fol. 213^r, 1-2; M2: Fol. 3^r, 17-18; M3: Fol. 181^rB, 27-28.

67 Ed. Lolos 1976, 106, 81-82 (nicht *κακοφύης* des MS R, wie Lolos meint, sondern *αὐτοφύης* der Hs. G ist die bessere Lesart).

68 Ed. Sackur 1976, 84, 18-19.

69 Ed. Martinez 1985, 80, 87; M1: Fol. 213^r, 4-5; M2: Fol. 3^v, 2; M3: Fol. 181^vA, 3-4.

70 Zur Nachwirkung des 'Pseudo-Methodius' im Osten siehe u.a. Martinez 1985 (Einleitung), 11-6; Mango 1980, 201-7; Alexander 1985, *passim*. 'Pseudo-Methodius' hat auch andere syrische Apokalypsen beeinflusst, wie die von F. Nau (Nau 1917; vgl. dazu jetzt Reinink 1990) herausgegebene Apokalypse und das Evangelium der zwölf Apostel (Ed. Harris 1900). Zur Nachwirkung im Abendlande siehe u.a. Alexander 1971 and 1980, 62-71; McGinn 1979, 70-6, und *passim*.

71 Zu den geschichtlichen Hintergründen des 'Pseudo-Methodius' siehe Reinink 1988 und Reinink 1992.

72 Die älteste lateinische Handschrift, Cod. Bern, Burgerbibliothek 611, ist vielleicht bereits um A.D. 727 geschrieben worden (vgl. Laureys-Verhelst 1988, 114), und setzt eine ältere Vorlage voraus. In bezug auf die griechische und lateinische Textgeschichte sind aber noch viele Fragen ungelöst. Auch die Identität des *Petrus monachus*, dem einige lateinische Hss. die Übersetzung zuschreiben, ist unbekannt (vgl. Kortekaas 1988, 65).

rasch einen griechischen Übersetzer fand, ist aber nicht erhalten geblieben. Er ist lediglich an den Stellen mit mehr Sicherheit greifbar, wo die *V-Rezension* und die *M-Rezension* miteinander übereinstimmen, oder, wenn beide Rezensionen voneinander abweichen, wo eine der beiden Rezensionen mit den Lesarten des griechisch-lateinischen Textes im Einklang ist. Und selbst wenn die früheste griechische Fassung mit Hilfe der Textzeugen der ältesten lateinischen Rezension ziemlich genau wiederherzustellen ist, kann sie nicht mit Sicherheit Aufschluss geben über den syrischen Urtext, falls die *V-Rezension* und die *M-Rezension* sowohl voneinander wie auch von dem griechisch-lateinischen Text abweichen. Denn eines ist völlig klar: Der griechische Übersetzer, der nicht nur die syrische, sondern auch die griechische Sprache vorzüglich beherrschte, war alles andere als ein Übersetzer, der seiner syrischen Vorlage sklavisch folgte. Bereits in der frühesten griechischen Fassung begegnen wir redaktionellen Eingriffen, zum Beispiel in den Anpassungen und Erweiterungen der Bibelzitate und in weiteren Modifizierungen interpretativer Art. Eine Rückübersetzung, wie Th. Frenz diese für das Lateinische ins Griechische möglich hält (Frenz 1987, 54), ist in dem Umfange fürs Griechische ins Syrische nur auf die Gefahr hin durchzuführen, einen syrischen Text zu rekonstruieren, der in Wirklichkeit nie existiert hat. Deshalb muss der griechisch-lateinische Text bei der Wiederherstellung des syrischen Urtextes hauptsächlich die Rolle spielen, die ihm in den obigen Beispielen beigemessen wurde. In dieser Hinsicht ist aber der griechisch-lateinische Text ebenso unentbehrlich für die Rekonstruktion des Syrischen wie die älteste lateinische Fassung und das syrische handschriftliche Material es für die Wiederherstellung des ursprünglichen griechischen Textes sind.

Nachtrag

Neuerdings ist ein neuer Textzeuge des syrischen 'Pseudo-Methodius' bekannt geworden, auf den Dr. Sebastian Brock (Oxford University) mich freundlichst aufmerksam gemacht hat. Es handelt sich um die westsyrische Hs. *Syriac 10* der Beinecke Library (Yale University), von der L. Depuydt in einem Vortrag zum *Syriac Studies Symposium, Brown University, June 1991* kurz berichtet hat. Diese Handschrift wurde geschrieben im Jahre 1536 (A.G.) = 1224/5 (A.D.) von einem Mönch Joseph im Kloster Baršauma im Bezirk Mardin (Fol. 124^v). Sie enthält wie M1 das Werk *De Paradiso* des Mose bar Kepha, eine kurze Lebensgeschichte des Mose bar Kepha und den *mēmra* "Über das Ende der Zeiten" des Bischofs Methodius von Patara (dazu noch einige Werke des Mose bar Kepha, die nicht in M1 begegnen: den *mēmra* "Über die Auferstehung", eine Exegese zu den paulinischen Stellen über die Auferstehung, eine Trostrede, den *mēmra* "Über den Antichrist", und eine Abhandlung über die Tonsur der Mönche). Der Text des 'Pseudo-Methodius' erscheint am Ende der Handschrift (Fol. 225^r - Fol. 236^r) und ist am Ende unvollständig (der Text bricht ab in Kap. XIV,10). Der zweite Teil des 'Pseudo-Methodius' (Fol. 232^r - Fol. 236^r) ist von einer modernen Hand geschrieben (im Jahre 1957 von einem Kopisten Paulus), um die schwer beschädigten Blätter des letzten Heftes zu ersetzen. Der Vergleich des MS Beinecke

Syriac 10 mit M1.2.3 machte rasch klar, dass (a) Beinecke *Syriac 10* ein Repräsentant der *M-Rezension* des 'Pseudo-Methodius' ist und (b) höchstwahrscheinlich die direkte Vorlage von M1 war. Dieser Befund ist deshalb besonders wichtig, weil wir jetzt auch über den Text der Kap. I-V,7 nach der *M-Rezension* verfügen, die in M1 verlorengegangen sind (siehe oben). Leider ist der Text des zweiten (ersetzten) Teils des 'Pseudo-Methodius' in Beinecke *Syriac 10*, der die Kap. XI,13-XIV,10 umfasst, infolge der vielen Fehler und fehlerhaften Ergänzungen unzuverlässig und nur in beschränktem Masse brauchbar.

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ANATOLIUS ANTECESSOR

J.H.A. Lokin

In this short paper I should like to pay attention to a distant colleague of Wim Aerts, one who is known to us under the name of Anatolius. He was a sixth-century Byzantine professor whose teaching, just like that of Wim Aerts, included linguistic elements. Unlike Wim Aerts Anatolius taught law, in accordance with the new university programme that had been prescribed by the Emperor Justinian. The latter had completed his legislation in 534 A.D. by issuing a renewed *Codex Justinianus*, the *Codex repetitae praelectionis*. In the previous year the Digest and Institutes had already been published — works which, like the *Codex*, consisted for the greatest part of Latin texts. Consequently, in order to make the Greek-speaking students familiar with the subject, each text was dealt with twice. The first lecture was of a linguistic nature: the Latin texts were translated into Greek and grammatical points were explained. This was called the *index*, ἵνδιξ. The second lecture was devoted to the legal implications, which were discussed on the basis of the original Latin text. These explanations were called the παραγραφαί. (On all this, see Scheltema 1970.)

We are not over-provided with information about the person of Anatolius. He is mentioned as a famous *antecessor* or professor of law in the constitutions that served as preambles to the Justinian legislation. In addition, we possess quite a few texts by Anatolius. These are exclusively related to the *Codex* and have been preserved in three sources. In the first place, all components of the Basilica text which deal with the eighth book of the *Codex*¹ have been taken from Anatolius. Other parts of his writings have occasionally been chosen as Basilica scholia. Thirdly, fragments have been assembled in a collection which is known as *Anecdota Laurentiana et Vaticana* and was first published in 1883 by Contardo Ferrini (Ferrini 1929).

1 The titles 22 and 23 of *Codex* book 6 also derive from Anatolius.

The *Codex* texts by Anatolius give rise to the question that I intend to discuss in this paper. The problem is, that his Greek texts are not really translations of the Latin original: rather, they are more like summaries. For that reason they can hardly have served as truthful translations for the benefit of students, paving the way for them to follow the material discussion of the Latin original. It is true that Pieler did suggest that the fragments originate in the first, linguistic university lecture, the *index*: "sie entstammen lediglich der ἰνδιξ-Vorlesung" (Pieler 1978). Scheltema on the contrary did not discuss them in his *Antecessors*, implying that he considered them as texts with a different purpose: as summaries for professional lawyers. They are sufficiently brief and adequate to be consulted in practice, but not appropriate for teaching a legal rule according to the two-phase method of the antecessors. Moreover the typical didactic elements of an *index*, such as protheories, are lacking altogether. For these reasons we consider Anatolius's *Codex* version as a *Summa Codicis*, a reliable summary of the often long-winded and bombastic legislation, the counterpart of contemporary Digest-summae.

Anatolius, however, was an *antecessor*, and therefore, if the fragments that have come down to us under the name of Anatolius were indeed intended for practising lawyers, we are confronted with the following question: has the antecessor Anatolius written a concise practical *summa* besides his teaching activities, or is the author of this *Summa Codicis* not identical with the Anatolius who features in the introductory constitutions of Justinian? In other words, are we to assume two Anatolii professionally active in the juridical field, or was there only one? Let us first of all scrutinize the few surviving texts which speak about the antecessor Anatolius.

The *constitutio Omnem* is addressed to eight antecessors, four from Beirut and four from the capital Constantinople. Within this list, which is probably arranged according to seniority, Anatolius takes up the fifth position. He and six of his colleagues are granted the title of *illustris*, which situates them in the highest class of Byzantine society.² The eighth professor, called Salaminus, bears the title of *dissertissimus*, 'most eloquent', which is used for barristers. We do not know anything else about this Salaminus.

The *const. Tanta*/Δέδωκεν, which was promulgated simultaneously with the *const. Omnem* (16th December 533), provides us with some supplementary information about Anatolius. In § 9 of this constitution he is mentioned as one of the four professors who had been active in compiling the Digest. These four antecessors had been members of the Digest-committee supervised by Tribonian, together with eleven barristers and one high magistrate called Constantinus. It now becomes clear which was the honorary post to which Anatolius owed his title of *illustris*: he was *magister officiorum*, just as was the antecessor Theophilus. The two other antecessors who had been involved in the Digest occupy different honorary positions. Dorotheus is *quaestor sacri palatii*, which is hierarchically equivalent to that of *magister*, and Cratinus occupies the slightly lower ranked

honorary post of *comes sacrarum largitionum*. Surprisingly the Greek *const. Δέδωκεν* adorns Anatolius with the title of μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, the equivalent not of *illustris*, but of *magnificus*. This shows us that the shift in the complicated system of ranks and titles, which is taking place during the reign of Justinian, has already influenced Anatolius's Greek epithet, although the *const. Tanta* still uses the traditional title. Furthermore Anatolius is described as antecessor in Beirut, summoned to come to Constantinople for taking part in the preparation of the Digest. An interesting but not entirely clear sentence deals with Anatolius's ancestors. We are told that he comes from a family of lawyers. His father Leontius and his grandfather Eudoxius have both taught law in Berytus and left glorious memories (cf. Collinet 1925; Van der Wal-Lokin 1985, 23-4). The meaning of this sentence may seem entirely clear, but it is troubled by a confused remark preserved in its Greek counterpart. This remark has either not been included or not been preserved in the Latin text, but the corrector F² did supplement it there and it is also found incorporated in the text of C. 1, 17, 2.³ We present the passage about Anatolius in its entirety:

sed et (per) Anatolium virum illustrem magistrum qui et ipse apud Berytienses iuris interpres constitutus ad hoc opus allectus est, vir ab antiqua stirpe legitima procedens, cum et pater eius Leontius et avus Eudoxius [qui post Patricium inclutae recordationis quaestorium et Leontium virum gloriosissimum praefecturum et consularem atque patricium filium eius F²] optimam sui memoriam in legibus reliquerunt.

καὶ (παρὰ) Ἀνατολίου τε τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπέστατου μαγίστρου, ὃς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ Βηρυτίοις τὰ ἐκ νόμων παιδεύει [κα]λῶς, ἀνὴρ ἐκ τριγωνίας σεμνῆς τ[ῆ]ς παρὰ Φοίνιξιν τῶν νόμων διδασ[καλίας] καταβ[α]ίνων (ἀναφέρει γοῦν [ε]ἰς Λεόντιον τε καὶ Εὐδόξιον, ἀνδρας [ἐ]πὶ νόμοις μετὰ Πατρικίον τὸν τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης, κυαιστώριον καὶ ἀντικήνσορα, καὶ Λεόντιον, τὸν πανεύφημον ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων <καὶ> ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίον τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, [δικαί]ως τεθαυμασμέν[ους]).

To start with the Greek text: the ending of ἀναφέρει instead of ἀναφέρωμεν, 'he [i.e. Justinian] refers to', proves that the phrase ἀναφέρει ... τεθαυμασμένους does not belong to the original text. It is obviously a gloss on the words ἐκ τριγωνίας. Its principal aim is to supply the missing names of Anatolius's father and grandfather, who are implied by the word τριγωνία (not necessarily by *antiqua stirpe*). In addition the commentator placed these father and grandfather in their historical context (μετὰ Πατρικίον ... παῖδα). The result is a short history of the law faculty of Beirut. Subsequently this digression seems to have been incorporated in the Latin text as well, but the seam remains visible in the relative pronoun *qui*. The relative sentence is syntactically impossible, but can be explained as rendering ἀνδρας — τεθαυμασμένους.

² Cf. concerning one of the other antecessors, Theophilus: Lokin 1984.

³ C. 1, 17, 2 consists of the (Latin) text of *const. Tanta*.

Anyway, this corrupt text confronts us with another Leontius besides Anatolius's father. This second Leontius was the son of the ἡρως Patricius, who had once been an antecessor in Beirut and had occupied the honorary post of *quaestor sacri palatii*. Leontius himself was an ex-prefect, ex-consul and a patricius. The matter is further complicated by the theoretical possibility of reading the latter word *patricius* not as indicating a rank, but as a name. This would burden us with a second Patricius, son of the second Leontius. Although both interpretations have been put forward (Berger 1951), it seems most probable that the second occurrence of the word *patricius* serves to indicate that Leontius had been awarded what was the highest possible rank in the Early Byzantine period (thus also Heimbach 1962, 11 sub V).

We are acquainted with Patricius and the second Leontius from other sources. The latter can be identified as the Leontius who had been a member of the committee that compiled the first *Codex* and who is mentioned in the *const. Summa* (7th April 529) with the same honorary titles.⁴ Moreover he is qualified as *magister militum* in the *const. Haec* of 13th February 528. The year of his prefecture may have been 510, after the expulsion of Apion John Lydus (*De Magistratibus* 3, 17). A constitution of Anastasius is addressed to him in his function of *praefectus praetorio* (C. 7, 39, 6). His qualification as a great lawyer in the *const. Tanta/Δέδωκεν* is supported by his participation in the first *Codex* committee and by Lydus. Patricius is often referred to in the writings of the Byzantine lawyers. He had quite a reputation among the jurists and is always quoted with reverence: Theodorus (1, 722) even calls him ὁ κοινὸς διδάσκαλος, and Thalelaeus especially likes to make mention of Patricius's views in the context of his *Codex* lectures (Heimbach 1962, 11 sub V; Martindale 1980, 839 s. Patricius 10). The connection between Anatolius on the one hand and Patricius and Leontius II on the other is not clear. Had the author no other intention than to state that Patricius was a contemporary of Anatolius's grandfather Eudoxius?⁵ There has been no lack of conjectures, but the transmitted text does not provide conclusive evidence (Van der Wal 1953, 111).

The main question raised in this paper has been dealt with by Zachariae (1887, 70) and Van der Wal (1953, 111). They have argued the existence of two Anatolii, one of them being the author of the *Codex* commentary and the other the antecessor who is referred to in the *const. Omnem*. They support their view with two arguments. In the first place it is clear from the *const. Tanta* that Anatolius held his office in Berytus, whereas the author of the *Codex* commentary renders the geographical name of Constantinople by ἐνταῦθα. This suggests that the *summa* (or part of it) was written in the capital.⁶ If both qualities, that of summator and that of antecessor, are to be united in one person, we will have to concede that

4 For that reason I would suggest that we should identify Leontius 27 and Leontius 23 in Martindale 1980, 672-3.

5 Cf. BS 1316/6-31, where Thalelaeus contrasts the views of Patricius and Eudoxius.

6 BT 2140/7, C. 8, 53, 30 + 32. Cf. Isidorus and Theodorus, who translate the Latin words in *hac sacratissima urbe* (8, 53, 30) and in *hac regia urbe* (8, 53, 32) by ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει: BS 2777/25 and 2778/4 resp.

Anatolius, antecessor from Beirut, is the author of a *Codex* commentary written in Constantinople. Anatolius indeed spent several years in the capital during his work on the Digest. In 530 the entire committee of which he was a member had already been received in audience by the emperor.⁷ It might be doubted whether it was usual for an antecessor to make a commentary which was certainly not meant for educational purposes but for legal practice. Yet this is not as strange as it seems at first sight. There are several other instances of antecessors, who were necessarily competent in Latin and in Greek, helpfully supplying Greek translations or *summae* which were indispensable for practising lawyers with an insufficient knowledge of the Latin language. An example is the complete Greek Digest translation by the antecessor Dorotheus, which was to make the Latin legislation accessible to inhabitants of the eastern half of the empire. Similarly the antecessor Stephanus, who is best known for his vast Digest commentary, also made a summary of the *Codex* for practical purposes (Scheltema 1970, 61).

A more serious problem concerns the period in which Anatolius wrote his commentary. If he did indeed write it during his stay in the capital (530-533), it was necessarily a *summa* of the first *Codex*, because the *Codex repetitae praelectionis* was not published until 534. This is contradicted, however, by the fact that the commentary contains references to Justinianic Novels. When such references are found in the parts of his commentary that we know as the Basilica text, which summarize texts of those related to book 8 of the *Codex*, they can be explained as later additions made by the Basilica editors (cf. Van der Wal 1953, 113). But a similar phenomenon occurs in the fragments preserved in sources other than the Basilica. In his *summa* of C. 3, 29, 1, Anatolius modified the text in accordance with Novel 18 of 536 AD.⁸ We should have to assume that after his stay in Constantinople Anatolius adapted it to subsequent legislation. In my opinion Anatolius is more likely to have written his *summa* when the educational programme was introduced, as it is expounded in the *const. Omnem*. That would imply a date after 6th December 533. It would also help to locate in time the unmistakable influence on his *summa* of the didactic commentary by Isidorus.

This influence of Isidorus is the second argument for Zachariae and Van der Wal to assume two separate Anatolii. They feel that it would be beneath the dignity of an antecessor so directly to pillage the work of his own colleague. But what we nowadays would qualify as plagiarism was not considered that way in Antiquity. Until printing was invented, people could only resort to the scarce manuscripts of the works of others. Authors often quoted each other literally, not always supplying the source of the quotation. If anyone wished to have a survey of the various views on any particular subject the best solution was to copy or to compile them. Thus the so-called Anonymus kept an eye on the Greek translation by Dorotheus when he worked on his Digest *Summa* and Anatolius made use of the writings of Isidorus.

7 *Const. Deo auctore* 3: his (i.e. the members of the committee) itaque collectis et in nostrum palatium introductis, nobisque tuo testimonio placitis totam rem faciendam permisimus.

8 Fr. 126 Ferrini; 125 in the forthcoming Groningen edition.

Isidorus (Scheltema 1970, 40-2) was very probably also antecessor in Beirut, judging from his translation ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει for *in hac sacratissima urbe*.⁹ Another argument in favour of his residence in Beirut is his influence on the *Codex* fragments as preserved in the Nomocanon of the fifty titles. This Nomocanon combines a collection of *canones* made by Johannes Scholasticus with an Appendix, and is generally held to be of Eastern origin (Heimbach 1962, 12; Van der Wal 1953, 105). Isidorus must have written his *index* of the *Codex* after the *const. Omnem*, but before 536 (Van der Wal 1953, 109; Zachariae 1887, 61-62), for he appears not to be acquainted with Novel 18 from that year.¹⁰ Anatolius on the other hand does assimilate the modification issued in Novel 18, as we have seen, which provides us with a terminus post quem for his summary.

In conclusion, we may say that it is not too bold to assume that Anatolius wrote his *summa* shortly after 536, since this work shows unmistakable signs of having been influenced by Isidorus. Anatolius probably wrote his work (or most of it) in Beirut, where he held office together with Isidorus: this can be only probable, since the translation ἐνταῦθα for *in sacratissima urbe* in BT 2140/7 remains problematic. The same word occurs as a translation for *in regia urbe* in the *summa* of C. 8, 47, 6, which has not been preserved in the *Basilica*, but was restituted on the evidence of the *Synopsis*.¹¹ On the other hand, Zachariae (1887, 70) and Ferrini (1929, 242) have already pointed out that Anatolius uses the normal translation ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει in other places. An example is his summary of a constitution of Macrinus,¹² which renders *in sacratissima urbe* as ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Fr. 165 Ferrini is the counterpart of the Greek constitution 4, 66, 4, preserved in the *Basilica* with the formula ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει, which was shortened by Anatolius to ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Finally it is found with the epithet πανευδαίμονι in the *summa* of C. 8, 10, 13, combining *huic florentissima urbi* with *hac regia civitate*.¹³ Therefore, if we assume that the *Basilica* compilers and the other collection have faithfully preserved his *summa*, we can see that Anatolius was not consistent in his rendering of such phrases as 'in (this flourishing/imperial) city': he seems to have chosen 'here' in the context of C. 8, 53, 30 + 32 and of 8, 47, 6, but 'in Constantinople' in that of C. 4, 41, 2, C. 4, 66, 4 and C. 8, 10, 13. The latter instance is particularly unpleasant, in that it is found in the *Basilica* and summarizes a constitution from book 8. Otherwise we might have conjectured either that ἐνταῦθα was put in later by the *Basilica* compilers, who were residents of Constantinople,¹⁴ or that Anatolius had returned from Constantinople to Beirut in between finishing his summary of book 4 and starting that of book 8.

⁹ BS 2778/4, C. 8, 53, 30: cf. note 6.

¹⁰ BS 2808/14.

¹¹ Y 3,3 = BT 1547/22.

¹² C. 4, 41, 2/frg. 160 Ferrini.

¹³ BT 2668/10 (cf. 8), Syn. K. 9, 13.

¹⁴ An additional argument for assuming that BT 2140/7 has been meddled with by subsequent Byzantine jurists would have been the fact that it combines two constitutions: Van der Wal p. 113.

In late Byzantine times Anatolius is once more referred to. Mattheus Blastares remarks in the preface to his *Syntagma alphabeticum* (1335) that Anatolius's version of the *Codex* was even more concise than Theodorus's summary: Θαλέλαιος ἀντίκενσωρ τοὺς κώδικας εἰς πλάτος ἐκδέδωκε, Θεόδωρος Ἑρμοπολίτης συντετμημένως, ἔτι δὲ συντομώτερον Ἀνατόλιος. This (disputable) judgment is not very helpful.

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Bernard H. Stolte

Roman lawyers debated the question whether a cenotaph was a *locus religiosus*. Upon the answer depended whether one could legally sell or donate such a place, for *loci religiosi* could not be dealt with commercially. We know of a ruling of the *divi fratres*, i.e. the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-169), that a cenotaph was not a *locus religiosus*; this ruling, which was given in the form of a rescript, has not been preserved, but it is mentioned by the jurist Ulpian (circa 200) in the 25th book of his commentary on the edict of the praetor. Marcian, however, who is younger than Ulpian, expressly states in his Institutes, that “the better view is that a cenotaph also is a religious place, Virgil being a witness to this point”.¹

When the emperor Justinian promulgated his *Digest* in 533 he did not end the debate in an authoritative way, but simply made Marcian and Ulpian rub shoulders in D. 1, 8, 6-7:²

Marcianus libro tertio institutionum

(...) Cenotaphium quoque magis placet locum esse religiosum, sicut testis in ea re est Vergilius.

Ulpianus libro vicensimo quinto ad edictum

Sed divi fratres contra rescripserunt.

As Justinian neglected to decide this point, lawyers continued to debate it over the centuries. I do not attribute to Wim Aerts an urgent desire to see this problem resolved once and for all, a problem that must have vexed the Roman prop-

1 See the Latin text quoted below; transl. quoted from Watson 1984, ad loc.

2 Cf. D. 11, 7, 6, 1.

erty developers, but he may be interested in an aspect that to my knowledge has never received attention, namely the way this reference to Virgil was dealt with in sixth-century Byzantium.

The passage from the Digest simply states "sicut testis in ea re est Vergilius"; it does not quote or summarize the actual lines, which we find in the *Aeneid* (III. 301-305):

*sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona
ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam
libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat
Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespitem inanem
et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras.*

Whether they prove that a cenotaph was a *locus religiosus* is immaterial; they were quoted in support of this view. The fact that lines of poetry were quoted or at least were referred to in a legal text involves the wider question of *auctoritas poetarum*, for which I refer to a paper by G.C.J.J. van den Bergh (1974). I note in passing the remarkable fact that Roman jurists quote Homer much more often than Virgil; as far as I know we are dealing here with the only explicit reference to Virgil as a legal authority by a Roman jurist.

It does not come as a surprise that Roman jurists should quote Homer. A good education in imperial Rome included a knowledge of Greek (Marrou 1948), to which the respectable list of Greek words and passages cited in the *Digest* bears witness (Bortolucci 1906).³ That Roman jurists quote Latin literature as well, is only what is to be expected; to that extent the passage under discussion hardly deserves our attention. In Byzantium we would expect the reverse: Greek authors will be familiar, especially Homer; Latin authors less so, if they are read at all. Knowledge of Latin was not generally available, not even in Justinian's time.⁴ The extraordinary fact that Justinian's codification, including the *Digest*, was mainly in Latin, presented major difficulties to students and no doubt even more so to the general public. The incorporation of a reference to Virgil in a text that would be used mainly by Greek speaking people — even if Justinian had meant this to be different — raises the question what its readers made of it. A Roman reader may not have needed such an explanation, but would a Byzantine audience understand which story was meant?

One source of information is the way this text was dealt with in the law schools in the first two decades after the promulgation of the *Digest*. Reports of these law courses in which the *antecessores*, the law professors of the age of Justinian, taught the new codification, have been transmitted to us, almost all of

3 An even more complete collection had been compiled in the eighteenth century by Henrik Brenkman, who spent a lifetime preparing a new edition of the *Digest* (see Stolte 1981, esp. 58-60 and 120-1).

4 See, e.g. Jones 1964, ch. xxiv (986 ff.), who confesses to "rely heavily on H.I. Marrou ..." (Marrou 1948). Corippus, of course, wrote in Latin: cf. Cameron 1978, 83-4, and see also her edition of the *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris* (Cameron 1976). People who knew Latin often had a legal background, e.g. Procopius and Johannus Lydus.

them through the so-called *Basilica*, a collection dating from circa 900, but in fact mainly consisting of sixth-century writings. Of special importance are the scholia that were added to the text of the *Basilica* very soon after its publication, because they draw extensively on these reports: although they were selected and written in the margins of the manuscripts of the *Basilica* in the tenth century, they inform us about the teaching in the law schools of the sixth century: not only are they a witness to the transformation of the Latin codification into a collection of Greek translations and summaries, which for practical purposes took over from the original Latin texts, but they also tell us what apparently needed explaining.⁵

One of these scholia is relevant to our question. It transports us to the classroom of sixth-century Byzantium. Byzantium in this case does not simply mean Constantinople, but possibly Beirut, for the scholion in question (BS 2747, 21) stems from the antecessor Stephanus, who probably taught in that city.⁶ It is true that it does not carry his name, but the style is unmistakably Stephanus's (Scheltema 1970, 24ff.). It preserves the explanation given by the antecessor Stephanus when he was dealing with D. 1, 8, 6, 5, and 1, 8, 7:

Καὶ τὸ κενοτάφιον δὲ ρελεγίῃσιν μᾶλλον ἤρρεσεν εἶναι, ὅσον ἐκ τῆς Βιργιλίου μαρτυρίας, ὅς ὑποτίθεται τὴν Ἀνδρομάχην κενοτάφιον τῷ Ἑκτορι κατασκευάσασαν μετὰ τὸ ἀναίρεθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ ταφῆναι ἐν Τροίῃ. Ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ἐξῆς διγ. Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς Βιργιλίου μαρτυρίας τὸ κενοτάφιον ρελεγίῃσιν εἶναι δοκεῖ. Ἀντιγραφὴ μὲντοι βασιλέων ἐστίν, ἥτις βούλεται τὸ ἐναντίον, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι ρελεγίῃσιν τὸ κενοτάφιον.

According to the prevailing view a cenotaph, too, is religiosus, as may be concluded from the testimony of Virgil, who presents Andromache as having prepared a cenotaph for Hector after his death and burial in Troy. Read the next fragment [of the Digest text, i.e. 1, 8, 7]. On Virgil's testimony the cenotaph seems to be religiosus; an imperial rescript exists, however, which rules the opposite, namely that the cenotaph is not religiosus.

Only the first part of this text is of interest here. Stephanus translates D. 1, 8, 6, 5 (Καὶ τὸ κενοτάφιον ... ὅσον τῆς Βιργιλίου μαρτυρίας), and then proceeds to tell what was actually contained in Virgil's *Aeneid* (ὅς ὑποτίθεται ... Τροίῃ).⁷ He cannot have drawn this information from the *Digest* text, which certainly never included more than a mere reference to Virgil. The question therefore arises from which source Stephanus had this information. Unfortunately this must remain a matter of speculation.

Our picture of the teaching of the law in the first decades after Justinian promulgated the new codification is sufficiently clear to admit of the conclusion

5 See e.g. Van der Wal-Lokin 1985; for the teaching of law in the sixth century esp. Scheltema 1970. The *Basilica* and their scholia are now available in a modern critical edition: Scheltema-Holwerda-Van der Wal 1953-88. The scholia are in series B.

6 On Stephanus see Van der Wal-Lokin 1985, 41-2; Scheltema 1970, 5-6, 24 ff.

7 On ὑποτίθεται cf. Meijering 1987, 104 ff., esp. 132-3.

that a small professional circle was able to read Latin legal texts with some fluency, which is not the same as possessing the ability to read Latin poetry. As an antecessor, in Beirut or in Constantinople, Stephanus belonged to this circle; his works bear witness to his knowledge of Latin.

May we expect Stephanus to have gone out of his way to look up the reference to Virgil and if so, would he have been able to locate a copy of Virgil in the library?

There is some evidence of Greek translations of Virgil. A number of papyri contain a Latin text with a word-by-word translation into Greek (collected in Cavenaille 1958, nrs. 1-19). These papyri are always quoted as testimony to the fact that Virgil was available in the Greek-speaking world. It seems reasonable to infer from their existence that the major libraries of Justinian's empire, such as were to be found in Constantinople and Beirut, contained Virgil's *Aeneid*. What is special about this case is that Stephanus actually tells his students what is in Virgil's poem. The text under discussion belongs to that part of the *Digest* that was read by first-year students, hence called τὰ πρῶτα (Const. *Omnem* § 2; cf. Scheltema 1970, 8). Andromache building a cenotaph for Hector, we may conjecture, is one of the very few pieces of Latin literature these Byzantine law students became acquainted with.

Stephanus need not have acquired his knowledge of Virgil from the *Aeneid* directly. He must have been familiar with a number of legal works in their pre-Justinianic form, and it is possible that he read this passage as a scholion in the margin of the text of Marcianus's *Institutes* either in Latin or in Greek. This would not detract from the fact that the information was transmitted in a course on Justinian's *Digest* in sixth-century Byzantium.

The *Digest* contains another reference to Virgil which may have been familiar to the serious Byzantine law student, although it may have escaped his attention, as it is to be found in book XLV, which was not part of the law curriculum (Const. *Omnem* § 5). In D. 45, 1, 65 pr., which stems from the eighth book of Florentinus's *Institutes*, we read:

Florentinus libro octavo institutionum
Quae extrinsecus et nihil ad praesentem actum pertinentia adieceris stipulationi, pro supervacuis habebuntur nec vitiabunt obligationem, veluti si dicas: 'arma virumque cano: spondeo', nihilo minus valet.

The text deals with the contract of *stipulatio*, which properly consisted of a formal question and answer, in which the same verb was used, in this case 'spondeo'. The formalities created for the responding party a legal obligation to perform whatever it had promised, which could be virtually anything, e.g. giving a sum of money, or writing a paper for a Festschrift. The opening line of the *Aeneid* is considered as a harmless addition; such a poetic outburst, the text states, would not vitiate the legal effect of the central word 'spondeo'. Here we do not have a Greek version of the passage, as the corresponding part of the *Basilica* has not been preserved. It would have been interesting to know how they rendered the Virgilian line and whether it had elicited any comment.

Only through patiently collecting snippets of information, two of which I offer to Wim Aerts, can we add to our picture of the Byzantine knowledge of Latin literature.

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THE LIFE OF ST ANDREW THE FOOL, ILLUSTRATED BY THE
BORDER-SCENES OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ICON, RUSSIAN
MUSEUM 2099.

Lennart Rydén

The Life of St Andrew the Fool, written at Constantinople in the tenth century, has been preserved in more than 100 Greek manuscripts. This shows that the Life of this saint was a great success in the Greek-speaking world. Yet it never became as influential there as in the world of the Slavs. Unfortunately, we do not know when and where the Slavonic translation was made. What we do know is that a vision contained in the Vita gave rise to the Feast of Pokrov, and that the vision was depicted in innumerable Russian icons, of which the earliest known examples date from the fourteenth century.¹ Furthermore, beginning in the fourteenth and culminating in the sixteenth century, a great number of holy fools appeared in Russia. Of these imitators of St Andrew as many as thirty-six were canonized by the Russian church (see Fedotov 1966, 316). In Byzantium, on the other hand, the Church adopted a negative attitude towards this and other kinds of radical asceticism (see Magdalino 1981, esp. 59-61). The holy fools never played a prominent role in Byzantine society. The Feast of Pokrov was not celebrated in Byzantium, nor does any Byzantine Pokrov icon exist.

To my knowledge, there is only one representation of St Andrew to be found in Byzantine art, namely the well-known wall-painting in St Neophytos's Hermitage in Cyprus, executed in 1185, which represents Andrew holding a branch from Paradise (see Mango-Hawkins 1966, esp. 179 and pl. 92). In the early post-Byzantine period two murals were painted on Mount Athos, one in the Lavra, the other in the Dionysiou Monastery, in both of which Andrew appears as one among many in a row of saints (see Meillet 1927, pl. 147,1 and 214).

In Russia, on the other hand, Andrew appears not only in the Pokrov icons, but also in two large and splendid icons of the early sixteenth century, in which he

1 See for instance Rydén 1976, 63-82, with further references, and Hurwitz 1980, 73.

is represented alone, surrounded by scenes from his life. One of them, which contains fourteen such scenes, has been described by N. P. Kondakov, who assigned it to the Novgorod school (Kondakov 1931, 308). According to Kondakov it belonged to the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg at the time he was writing. This piece of information is somewhat puzzling, however, for Dr T.B. Viliinbachova of the Russian Museum informs me that it is not in the Museum's present collections. In fact, according to Dr Viliinbachova the icon is unlikely to have ever belonged to the Museum.² As I have not been able to find a reproduction, it will not be treated in this paper.

The other icon, which has eighteen, mostly different, border-scenes, has been in the possession of the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg since 1913, whence Dr Viliinbachova has kindly sent me the photo reproduced here (see below, p. 117). A magnificent colour reproduction has been published by V. N. Lazarev (1971, pl. 81), and some of the border-scenes have also been reproduced by M. Alpatov (1963, pl. 94-95, and 1971, pl. 196). For art-historical comments I refer to Alpatov, according to whom Andrew is represented as an ancient philosopher or orator rather than as an emaciated ascetic. The task I have chosen is more prosaic, namely to identify as far as possible the episodes of the Vita, which the border-scenes are meant to illustrate. This task, though elementary, is not superfluous, since Alpatov fails to provide this kind of information and Lazarev, who reproduces one border-scene, connects it with the wrong passage in the text.

The Slavonic translation which the artist must have used as his source seems to have been based on a Greek manuscript closely related to the Monacensis gr. 552, copied in the fourteenth century. In various respects the version represented by this manuscript differs from the Greek text of the Bollandists, reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. CXI. In the present context, however, these differences are of minor importance. In what follows I shall therefore refer to the columns of this edition, in which the Life of St Andrew the Fool is still most conveniently consulted.³

As usual, the scenes follow each other from left to right and from top to bottom, row by row, and I have numbered them accordingly:

1. Andrew, who was of Scythian, i.e., according to the Russians, of Russian origin, was the favourite slave of a Constantinopolitan nobleman called Theognostos. Theognostos allowed Andrew to learn reading, writing and counting and made him his secretary (632A-B). The first picture shows Andrew at school.

2. While living in Theognostos's house Andrew used to rise at midnight to pray. One night the devil knocked at his door and so frightened him that he panicked

2 I should like to thank Dr Viliinbachova for kindly explaining this to me and sending me a photograph, Dr Ulf Abel, Stockholm, for acting as an intermediary, and Dr Sten Rydå, Eskilstuna, for providing me with a translation of Madame Viliinbachova's letter.

3 I have prepared a critical edition with parallel English translation, introduction and notes, which will appear in the near future. In the meantime one may also consult an Italian translation based on my work in Cesaretti-Rydén 1990, 97-257.

and returned to his bed (632 C-D). By the device called simultaneous succession, also used in other scenes of this icon, the second picture depicts Andrew both lying in his bed and praying before an icon, while the devil knocks at the door.

3. Having returned to his bed Andrew fell asleep and dreamt that, encouraged by Christ Himself, he fought the devil in single combat in the Hippodrome (633B-636A). In the third scene Christ, wearing a crown and accompanied by an angel, appears to Andrew to the left, offering him heavenly crowns if he defeats the devil. In the centre Andrew is seen defeating the devil, while black 'Ethiopians' huddle in shame to the right.

4. After the single combat with the devil, a common image of martyrdom and ascetic life, Christ asked Andrew to become a fool for His sake, and Andrew began to feign madness. Thinking that he had become truly insane, Theognostos put him in chains to the wall in the Church of St Anastasia, where fools were believed to be cured through incubation. One night an 'Ethiopian' and a crowd of demons appeared to him. Frightened, Andrew invoked St John the Apostle and Theologian for help. St John appeared and flogged the demons with Andrew's own chain, telling him that he would soon be released (641B-644B). In the fourth picture John appears to the left in front of the Church of St Anastasia, taking off (or putting back?) Andrew's chain, with which he is seen flogging a demon to the right, while his companion prepares to bring the other demons to him one by one.

5. While still in St Anastasia's Church Andrew dreamt that he was in the palace of the Heavenly King, who gave him a taste of what it means to be in His service (644C-648A). In the fifth picture Andrew humbly receives the taste from the hand of the King enthroned. To the left, palace architecture is indicated.

6. Having spent four months in the Church of St Anastasia Andrew was found to be incurable and released from his chains. From this moment he played the fool in the streets and squares of Constantinople for the rest of his life. At night, when nobody could see him, he used to pray at the entrance of the churches. One night he opened the doors of a small church of the Theotokos on the Forum of Constantine solely by making the sign of the cross. A slave boy, sent on an errand by his master, witnessed the miracle, which is of a kind not uncommon in Byzantine hagiography (712B-C). This episode is the motif of the sixth scene, which has also been reproduced by Lazarev (1971, pl. 82), who interpreted it wrongly as 'Andrew's vision at the church of St. Anastasia'.

7. Once the funeral procession of a rich but wicked man passed through the streets of Constantinople. Mourners and singers of Psalms accompanied the corpse, unaware of the demons and 'Ethiopians' who, invisibly, also took part in the procession, mocking it. Andrew, however, noticed them, and he also talked to the man's sad guardian angel, who revealed his wickedness to him (724A-725D). This is the topic of the seventh picture, although the man is shown lying in his coffin rather than being carried in a funeral procession.

8. One moonless night Andrew fell into a pit near a church dedicated to SS Peter and Paul. He invoked these saints for help and at once they appeared and lifted him out of the pit, while a shining cross gave them light. As the saints disappeared Andrew discovered that the cross was lifted on high above the middle of the city, while the church of Peter and Paul was transformed into a large, five-domed church, in the centre of which the Lord sat on a throne surrounded by the cherubim and seraphim. Since Andrew is said to have lived in the fifth century, the vision probably refers to the reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Apostles, located in the middle of the capital, by Justinian I (740B-741B). In the eighth picture Andrew points to the Enthroned Lord in this church, although the artist has not tried to reproduce all the five domes.

9. I am unable to explain this scene. It does not seem to fit any of the episodes described in the Vita.

10. The daughter of one of the nobles had died and been buried in the family chapel in a vineyard outside the city-walls. Neglecting Andrew's warnings a robber broke in. First he took the girl's veil and garment, but when he also took her shift, denuding her, the dead girl came to life and struck the robber in the face so that he became blind, whereupon she put her things on again, lay down and slept in peace (744C-748A). In the tenth picture Andrew points a warning finger at the blinded thief while the girl, rising to her feet, takes her clothes back again. As Alpatov (1963, 123) remarks, a naked woman is rarely found in Russian sacred art; but here the nudity is essential for the moral.

11. With the eleventh picture the artist takes an unexpected step backwards in the narrative, for it clearly refers to the passage 680A-681A. In this passage we are told how the devil, assuming the shape of an old woman, sat down in the street complaining that a fool and demoniac had robbed 'her' of 'her' belongings and beaten 'her'. Some people offered to help the old woman to find the culprit. But when Andrew arrived he at once discovered the devil's disguise, threw a stone in his face and breathed over him crosswise. As a result the devil lost his human appearance and became a huge serpent, which disappeared into a neighbouring house. The colourless representation of the old woman and the serpent is an indication of their lack of substance and solidity.

12/13. The section 749B-757C is about an otherwise pious monk who used to retain the money which those who confessed their sins to him gave him for distribution among the poor for the sake of the salvation of their souls. Andrew understood that the monk was a deceiver, for thanks to his spiritual insight he saw a dragon with three heads — they represented miserliness, madness and heartlessness — coiled around his neck, while a demon quarrelled with his guardian angel about his soul. Andrew met him in a hidden place and reproved him for his greed. At last he emphasized his message by showing him the devil. At this sight the monk promised to reform, after which the dragon transformed itself into

a raven and disappeared. Pictures 12 and 13 illustrate the beginning and end of this episode.

14. This picture represents the vision which Andrew had in St Sophia one Palm Sunday, when he saw a solemn procession led by King David, holding a lyre in his hands (788C-789A).

15. Once in the Forum of Constantine the spiritual eyes of a woman called Barbara were opened for a moment so that she could see Andrew as he appeared in the world of the invisible. She discovered that he was like a pillar of fire, but those who beat him and hit him on his head, because they believed that he was mad, were surrounded by demons who put a sign on their forehead (837C-D). In picture no. 15 Barbara stands to the left of a tower, observing how Andrew is beaten by two men, while a demon puts his sign on the forehead of a third. According to the Vita, this episode took place at the Column of Constantine the Great, which was located in the centre of his Forum. In the picture, on the other hand, the scene takes place at a tower with three pinnacles, two windows and a door. Presumably the artist identified Barbara, the woman who had the vision, with her famous namesake among the martyrs, in whose martyrdom a tower plays an important part. In Western art the attribute of the Martyr Barbara is a tower. This may therefore be an example of Western influence on the iconography of the Russian icons.

16. Once when Andrew and his pupil Epiphanius attended a nocturnal doxology in the so-called Holy Soros at Blachernae, the Mother of God, accompanied by St John the Baptist and St John the Apostle, appeared to them walking in procession through the church. When she reached the bēma, she took off her veil, stretched it out over the faithful and prayed for them (848C-849A). As already mentioned, this vision gave rise to the Feast of Pokrov and inspired an innumerable number of Pokrov icons. Border-picture no. 16 is just another Pokrov icon, in the upper centre of which the Mother of God stretches out an invisible veil over the congregation while, as usual, Andrew is depicted in the bottom right corner pointing Her out to Epiphanius. As often in the Pokrov icons, Romanos the Melodist is represented standing in an ambo under the Mother of God, although this arrangement has no foundation in the Vita.⁴

17. Immediately after this episode there follows in the Vita a story about an adulterous naval officer from Amastra, who died in agony because of his sins. As he lay dying Andrew could see a fiery angel of the Lord coming down from the west and beating him mercilessly (849B-852A). There are several similar stories in the Vita, but this seems to be the passage referred to in picture no. 17.

4 The reason why Romanos the Melodist appears in the Pokrov icons is that his day coincides with the day of Pokrov (October 1st). It may also be noted that in Russia St Andrew the Fool is celebrated on October 2nd, although his Vita says that he died on May 28th.

18. Andrew died at night alone in a portico. A woman living nearby noticed a sweet smell as of precious oil. Led by the smell she found Andrew's dead body, which gave off a wonderful fragrance. But later, when she returned with more people, to whom she wanted to demonstrate the miracle, Andrew's body had disappeared, the Lord having taken it away (888A-B). In the last picture the woman is represented in the act of finding Andrew, while Andrew himself is seen pointing at the scene. In the background the portico is indicated.

The Life of St Andrew the Fool is a very long Vita and contains many other episodes which would merit illustration. Why did the artist prefer these particular motifs to others which are equally intriguing? That he was supposed to illustrate the beginning and end of Andrew's life is clear, but why, for instance, did he include picture no. 9, which I cannot identify, or illustrate the story of the greedy monk twice, or place picture no. 11 in the wrong context?

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ELIJAH AND ALEXANDER?

Victor M. Schmidt

Some fifteen years ago Otto Demus drew attention to some curious representations of the ascension of Elijah, in a paper for the *Festschrift* of David Talbot Rice (Demus 1975, 64-7). According to Demus the representations, a Greek icon dated 1655, and a fresco dating from ca. 1340 in the cathedral of Gurk (Carinthia), were clearly inspired by the composition of Alexander the Great's aerial flight, in that they show the prophet *en face* in a chariot, with the four horses arranged on either side of it in a symmetrical pattern. Now that more research has been done and more images of this kind have come to light, it seems appropriate to return this topic in a *Festschrift* for another Byzantine scholar, who, moreover, has been the moderator of the Groningen research group on Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages. In what follows I shall redefine the relationship between the frontal representations of the ascension of Elijah and those of Alexander's flight, and suggest a possible meaning of this type of image. But first I should like to draw up a list of the frontal images of Elijah's ascension known to me at present. Although all examples adduced here have been published before, they have not been discussed as a group. In the following, I restrict myself to Byzantine and post-Byzantine art.

1. A seal published by Schlumberger (present whereabouts unknown).
Inscriptions: ΗΛΙΑC (obverse), others hardly readable.
On the obverse the image of Elijah in a quadriga with hands raised, on the reverse a griffin (?) (Lit.: Schlumberger 1895, 259-60, No. 112).
2. A mural painting in Güllü Dere (Cappadocia), Ayvalı Kilise, passage from the north chapel to the south chapel, vault, 913-920.
Inscriptions: ΗΛΙΑC ΕΝ ΑΡΜΑΤΙ ΠΥΡΙΝΟ ('Elijah in the fiery chariot'); ΕΛΙΣΑΙΟΥC ΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΟC ΤΙ ΜΙΛΟΤΙΝ ΕΚ ΧΙΡΟC ΗΛΙΑ ('Elisha receiving the mantle from Elijah's hand').

- Same image as No. 1, but combined with the handing over of the mantle to Elisha (Lit.: Thierry 1965, 119-24; Rodley 1985, 207-13).
3. A mural painting in Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, northwest chapel, east wall, 11th century (Fig. 1).
Same image as No. 1 (Lit.: Chatzidakis 1972, 96-106).
 4. A detached fresco, said to come from Lebanon or Syria, 16th century (?), 170 x 140 cm (private collection).
Inscription: *ΚΑΙ ΙΔΟΥ ΑΡΜΑ ΠΥΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΠΠΟΙ ΠΥΡΟΣ. ΚΑΙ ΑΝ[Ε]ΛΥΦΘΗ ΗΛΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΚΙΣΙΜΟ ΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ* ('Behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire. And Elijah went up in a whirlwind into heaven'; II Kings 2:11).
As in No. 2 combined with the handing over of the mantle to Elisha. Below on the left Elisha is crossing the river Jordan (Lit.: Van Rijn 1980, No. 80; Voordeckers 1988, 157 n. 5).
 5. An icon from Plovdiv, 17th century, 89 x 52.5 cm (Sofia, Museum of Archaeology and Religious Art (Fig. 2)).
Inscriptions: top: *Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΗΛΙΑΣ*; below: *Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΛΙΣΑΙΟΣ*; on the scroll held by Elijah: *ΚΑΘΟΥ ΔΗ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΟΤΙ Κ[ΥΡΙΟ]Σ ΑΠΕΣΤΑΛΚΕ ΜΕ ΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΟΡΔΑΝΟΥ* ('Stay here, for the Lord has sent me to the river Jordan'; II Kings 2:6).
As in No. 2 combined with the handing over of the mantle of Elisha (Lit.: Icones 1976, No. 109; Bozhkov 1984, 448, 468, Pl. 419; Paskaleva 1987, No. 86).
 6. An icon from (western?) Bulgaria, 17th century, 97 x 54 (Burgas, Art Gallery).
Inscriptions: top: *Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΗΛΙΑΣ*; on the scroll held by Elijah: *ΖΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΜΟΥ ΖΗ ΚΑΙ Η ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ ΟΥ ΜΙ Β[?]*.
Image as in No. 5, but with Elisha placed in the middle of the landscape (Lit.: Bozhkov 1984, 424, 470, Pl. 424).
 7. An icon by Demetrius, 1655, 78 x 50.2 cm (private collection).
Inscriptions: top: *Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΗΛΙΑΣ*; above Elisha on the left: *ΕΛΙΣΣΟΣ*; above Elisha on the right: *ΕΛΗΣΣΕΟΣ*; below the chariot: *ΔΗΑ ΧΗΡΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΧΟΡΑΣ ΖΗΤΖΑ ΕΤΟΥΣ ,ΑΧΝΕ* ('By the hand of Demetrius of Zitsa in the year 1655'); on the scroll held by Elijah: *ΖΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΖΗ ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ* ('The Lord my God liveth, and my soul liveth').
As in No. 2 combined with the handing over of the mantle to Elisha. Below on the right Elisha is dividing the waters of the river Jordan (II Kings 2:14). Apart from the latter scene, the icon is very close to No. 5 (Lit.: Chatzidakis 1968, No. 70; Demus 1975; Chatzidakis 1987, 268, Fig. 142).
 8. An icon from northern Greece, second half of the 17th century, 86 x 63 cm (Athens, Ethniki Pinakothiki Alexandros Soutzos Museum).
Inscriptions: top: *Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΗΛΙΑΣ*; on the scroll held by Elijah: *ΖΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕ[Ο]Σ ΜΟΥ ΖΗΕ Η ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ*.
As in No. 2 combined with the delivery of the mantle to Elisha (Lit.: Galavaris 1981, 28 and Pl. Xc).
 9. An icon from Greece, ca. 1700, 51 x 43 cm (private collection).
Inscriptions: *ΑΡΜΑ ΠΙΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ (?) ΥΠ[ΟΙ] ΠΥΡΟΣ* and *Ο ΠΡΟ[ΦΗΤΗΣ] ΙΑΗ[Α]*.
Scenes as in No. 6 (Lit.: Eikon 1979, No. 189).
 10. An icon from Arbanassi, 18th century, 84 x 99 cm (Arbanassi, Monastery church of Sveti Nikola).
The text on the prophet's scroll is hardly readable (Lit.: Bossilkov 1989, 152, Pl. 135).
 11. An icon from Asia Minor, first half of the 18th century, 89,5 x 70,4 cm (private collection).
Inscriptions: *Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΗΛΙΑΣ*; on the scroll held by Elijah: *ΖΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΖΗ Η ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΤΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ* ('The Lord liveth and my soul liveth, and it is no longer on earth').
Combined with the delivery of the mantle to Elisha. In the top left corner an angel holds the reins of the horses (Lit.: Chatzidakis 1968, No. 120). The first part of the text held by Elijah agrees with that on the icons Nos. 6-8. It looks like a paraphrase of II Kings 2:2, 2:4 or 2:6. There they are words of Elisha; hence the σου of the Septuagint is changed into the μου of the inscription. The second part of the inscription also occurs in a comparable form in non-narrative images of the prophet. The exact source of these texts seems to be unknown (for these texts see Gravgaard 1979, 34-5).
 12. An icon from Kapinovo Monastery (Bulgaria), ca. 1735, 95 x 65 cm (Elena, National Revival Museum).
The icon shows the prophet in the centre, surrounded by ten scenes from his life, including the ascension. The image is as in Nos. 2, and 6-8. The inscription on the scroll is hardly readable (Lit.: Bozhkov 1984, 449, 471, No. 426; Paskaleva 1987, No. 121).
 13. An icon from Arbanassi, 18th-19th centuries, 94 x 68 cm (Veliko Tarnovo, Historical Museum).
Inscriptions: *ΣΤΙ ΠΡΟΡΟΚΪ ΙΑΗΑ*. Although the text on the scroll held by Elijah is difficult to transcribe exactly, it is clearly taken from I Kings 19:10. Christ appears in a cloud above the prophet's head. Below at the right Elisha looks at the mantle falling down (Lit.: Bossilkov 1989, 335, Pl. 364).

14. An icon from Bulgaria, 19th century, dimensions unknown (Preobrashenski monastery, near Veliko Tarnovo).
Inscriptions: top: Ο ΑΓΓΙΟ[C] Ο ΠΡΟΦΙΤΟC ΗΛΙΑC. The inscription on the prophet's scroll is hardly readable.
The image resembles No. 6 (Lit.: Reproduction in Tzonev-Horisjan 1977, 84).¹

15. A Melkite icon from Lebanon, early 19th century. 79 x 57 cm (Shuwayya, Greek Orthodox convent of S. Elijah).
Inscriptions: "This holy icon has been instituted as a *waqf* [religious endowment] by Mister Farah for the soul of his father Mas'ad, in the monastery of Mar Elia in the village of al-Muḥaiqtēh" (dedication inscription in Arabic); top: Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΗΛΙΑC and "The heavenly ascension of the zealous prophet Elijah in a fiery chariot" (in Arabic); on the scroll held by Elijah in the scene on the right: "I have been zealous of the Lord, the governor of all. The children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, and demolished thy altars" (in Arabic; cf. I Kings 19:10-14); near the image of the Eternal: Ο ΩΝ.
Combined with the delivery of the mantle to Elisha. The chariot is enveloped in a fiery cloud. Below three other scenes from the life of the prophet are shown. To the left below it is the holocaust on Mount Carmel (I Kings 18:36-39); to the right below an angel brings him food (I Kings 19:5-6); above God appears to him on Mount Horeb (I Kings 19:10-14) (Lit.: Căndea 1969, 192-3 No. 51).²

The relation of these images with those of Alexander's aerial flight as they occurred in the art of Byzantium and adjacent areas is obvious.³ Alexander, too, sits in a chariot and the two griffins that carry it aloft are arranged symmetrically to its left and right (Fig. 3). However, these similarities in composition do not imply that the one image was inspired by the other. As will be seen, the same scheme was applied in representations of other figures, and what is more, it already occurred well before the image of Alexander's flight was created. The earliest representations of the flight date from the ninth or tenth century (Schmidt 1988, 22); the scheme itself is several centuries older. As Henri Seyrig pointed out, the first examples of a figure in a frontally rendered chariot with what he aptly called an 'attelage déployé' are found in the eastern part of the Roman empire during the second century A.D. Starting with emperor Probus (276-282) such deployed teams are shown on Roman coins (Seyrig 1937, 31-51; see also Lenzen 1960, 14-7).

Within the scheme not only the animals, but also the wheels of the chariot are rendered in side-view. Foreshortening is completely absent, in other words,

1 I wish to thank drs. Désirée M.D. Krikhaar (Bureau ART. E + R, The Hague) for pointing out the icons Nos. 6, 10, and 12-14 to me.

2 I wish to thank drs. Adri Drint for translating the Arabic inscriptions.

3 For the iconography of Alexander's flight in Byzantine art see Settis-Frugoni 1973, 147-207; Schmidt 1988, 17-25.

and we have to imagine both animals and wheels as projecting at right angles to the picture plane. Various forms of movement are suggested by the attitudes of the animals. When they raise one foreleg only, they usually trot. When they are standing on their hind legs, they are at full gallop, and when the hind legs are not on a level with the wheels, or when a ground line is lacking, a gallop through the air is intended.

Figures shown as being transported in chariots with a deployed team were, apart from Elijah and Alexander, gods — Sol invictus in particular — and the emperors with whom they were associated. The early Byzantine emperors could also be rendered in such a fashion (L'Orange 1935, 86-114; L'Orange 1953, 143-5), just as triumphant charioteers from the circus (Cameron 1973, 17-28) and the Old Testament Joseph (Fig. 4). The draught animals need not be horses only. Panthers, as e.g. in the triumph of Dionysos (Lenzen 1960), elephants, and griffins are found as well. The latter were also represented outside the context of Alexander images, as e.g. in a seventh-century Coptic (?) textile in the treasury of St. Martin at Montpezat-de-Quercy. The textile shows a figure in a chariot drawn by two griffins, and apparently for this reason alone it is regarded by many as a representation of Alexander's flight. However, the figure holds wreaths in his hand, and not the sticks with bait normally found in images of Alexander's flight.⁴

This rapid survey shows that the image of the ascension of Elijah cannot have been inspired by that of Alexander's flight. Both images should rather be considered as iconographic specifications of the encompassing theme of a 'figure in a frontal chariot with a deployed team'.⁵

Théano Chatzidakis, commenting upon the fresco in Hosios Loukas, rightly notes the relation with other representations of frontal chariots, but over-emphasizes the similarities with the representation of Helios in some Middle Byzantine psalters. Because of the similarities in composition she regards both images as iconographic 'homonyms', analogous to the homonymy of Elias and Helios (Chatzidakis 1972, 100-4). Although some early writers did use this word-play (e.g. Sedulius, *Carm. pasch.*, I, 184-187), it is not necessary to construct such a tight parity on an iconographic, and even semantic level. The examples adduced above suggest that images of figures in frontal chariots are expressions of triumph and apotheosis. In the case of the ascension of Elijah such a global meaning can be made more explicit by taking into account the context of the images. Unfortunately, the seal (No. 1) does not take us very far in this respect. As Schlumberger suggested, the subject was very likely chosen because the commissioner was named Elias. On the other hand, the context of the murals in Ayvalı Kilise and Hosios Loukas has been shown to be funerary, which suggests that the ascension of Elijah was regarded as a symbol of resurrection and triumph over death.

Apart from the frontal image of Elijah's ascension there also existed a version in side-view. At this point one may wonder whether there is any difference in meaning between the two types. The version in side-view seems to be

4 Settis-Frugoni 1973, 150-4 (with older literature). The figure may be compared with an image of Dionysos holding wreaths on another Coptic textile reproduced *ibid.*, 151, Fig. 33.

5 For the concept of the encompassing theme see Białostocki 1981.

the older of the two, as it already occurs in the third century (Wessel 1959, 1141-63; Voordeckers 1988, 156-8). As the number of examples from Early and Middle Byzantine art suggests, it continued to be used more frequently and over a longer period of time (Wessel 1971, 90-3; Voordeckers 1988, 185-7).

The frontal version, too, belongs to an encompassing theme; again images of gods and imperial apotheoses provided the model (Kötzsche-Breitenbruch 1982, 215-24). It differs not only from the frontal version in the sideward movement, but also in showing Elijah turning round to hand over this mantle to his successor, Elisha. Both elements make this type far more narrative than the frontal version, which shows the prophet as if he were suspended in mid-air. Although the two types are clearly distinct, some interplay between the two must have taken place: the handing over of the mantle to Elisha shown in Ayvalı Kilise and the icons clearly stems from the profile version.

As to the meaning of the profile version, it is striking that most of the early examples occur in contexts comparable to the frescoes of Ayvalı Kilise and Hosios Loukas, i.e. on sarcophagi and in catacombs. This suggests that the same idea was expressed as in the frescoes. The ascension of the prophet in side-view was even depicted in another chapel in Cappadocia, that seems to have had a funerary function, i.e. Karabulut Kilisesi in Avcılar (first quarter of the 11th century) (Thierry 1969, 11-2).

When looking at Middle Byzantine psalters one even gets the impression that frontal and profile images could be used at random. One finds the ascension of Elijah in side-view alongside with Helios in his frontal chariot. However, one should not attach too much importance to these cases. The pertinent psalters belong to a type with marginal illustration, which often has a rather loose relation to the text. The images of Elijah and Helios were prompted only by a verse of a psalm, for the illustration of which the painters could draw upon a stock of models current in manuscript illumination.⁶

Nevertheless, there are cases where profile and frontal representations were used as contrasting modes of expression. A good example is a Byzantine ivory coffer from the eleventh century in the treasury of Sens cathedral. It shows, besides a David cycle, scenes from the life of Joseph, including three featuring chariots. Two subsequent scenes show how Joseph embraces his father after going out in a quadriga to meet him in the land of Goshen (Gen. 46:29), and how he drives him back to Egypt (Gen. 47:7). In both instances the quadrigas are shown in side-view, whereas in the last scene of the cycle Joseph is shown in triumph in a frontal *biga* with a deployed team of horses, while an angel crowns him (Fig. 4; Goldschmidt-Weitzmann 1930, No. 124, PL. LXXV v, w, and y). Obviously the frontality in the latter image marks a theme of state, whereas the side-view expresses an ongoing action.⁷

⁶ The ascension of Elijah is depicted only because Ps. 41(42):7 mentions the river Jordan, where the event took place. Also the relation between the Helios image and the text is tenuous: Ps. 49(50):1 mentions the rising and setting of the sun. See Tikkanen 1975, 24, 46-7 and Voordeckers 1988, 171-3.

⁷ For these distinctions see Schapiro 1973.

The example of the ivory coffer shows that there could be reasons for rendering Elijah's ascension in frontal view rather than in profile. This is also suggested by the fact that the frontal version never occurs in a purely narrative context. The differences between the two versions, however, should not be overstressed. The frontal version was an option, the preference for which was not only dictated by the need to express a particular type of content, but also by artistic predilections. The version of Elijah's ascension in side-view is a creation of Greco-Roman art, with its predilection for varied postures, movements, and articulation of space. The frontal version belongs to a later, 'orientalizing' trend, which sought to give figures a transcendent meaning by adopting frontal views and discarding a naturalistic suggestion of movement and space. Both modes persisted in Byzantine art, but in the long run the former prevailed. After the twelfth century themes with frontal chariots and a deployed team hardly occurred anymore, and it is not unreasonable to ascribe the disappearance to the emergence of naturalistic tendencies in the leading centers of art production. But what about the icons, which all date from the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries and come from the former Byzantine empire or the Ottoman Empire, i.e. Greece, Bulgaria, Asia Minor and Lebanon?

It is by no means surprising to find Elijah depicted on icons. In contrast to the Latin Church, the Orthodox Church developed a real cult of the prophet. This ascension was, of course, an appropriate subject for an icon, as it was the most remarkable event in his life. The importance attached to it can not only be inferred from the seal (No. 1), but also from such mural paintings as those in the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessaloniki (early fourteenth century), where the ascension is depicted in lieu of the prophet's full-length figure (Xyngopoulos 1964, Fig. 132). Moreover, in some instances the prophet's feast on 20 July is explicitly referred to as the feast of his 'fiery ascension'.⁸ It may therefore be assumed that with the exception of icon No. 15 (a *wagf* or religious endowment) most icons were displayed on the iconostasis in a church; this is also suggested by their large size (ca. 80-95 cm) (Voordeckers 1988, 192). For this reason it is unlikely that the depiction of the frontal version of the ascension still had a special significance. The occurrence of this type is best regarded as a survival of an old compositional formula in provincial schools of icon painting.

This conclusion can be given profile, so to speak, by looking at the depiction of Elijah's ascension in Russian icon painting. Here the version in side-view was taken up again, but the 'fiery' aspect of the event was far more stressed than before. Admittedly the horses are often shown as red elsewhere (Nos. 4-9, 11-12, 14), but in the Russian icons the whole chariot is enveloped in a cloud of red fire, a feature also adopted in the late icon No. 15. Because of his association with drought and fire, Elijah came to be regarded as a saint with a special power over the weather. It seems that in this new role he had acquired some aspects of the old Slav thunder god Pirun (Felicetti-Liebenfels 1972, 122; Culianu 1983, 40-57). So this change in the depiction of the ascension not only ties in with a preference

⁸ Delehaye 1902, 831. Also in the Menologion of Basil (Migne, P.G. CXVII, 552).

for bright colours in Russian icon painting, but also with a shift of meaning in the event. The stern prophet had become thundering indeed.

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Fig. 1. Ascension of Elijah. Mural painting, 11th century. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon (from Chatzidakis 1972).

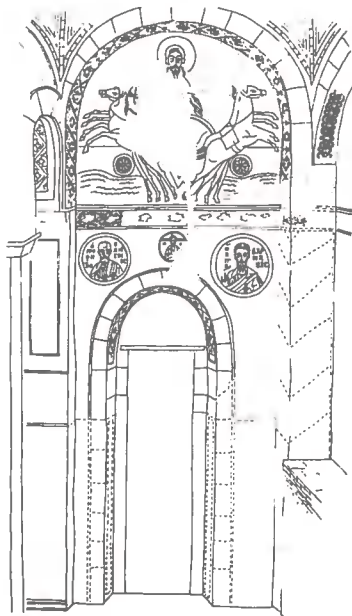


Fig. 2. Ascension of Elijah. Icon from Plovdiv, 17th century (Sofia, Museum of Archaeology and Religious Art).



Fig. 3. Aerial flight of Alexander the Great. Relief, Byzantine, late 11th century. Venice, San Marco.



Fig. 4. Triumph of Joseph. Detail from ivory coffer, Byzantine, 11th century (Sens, Cathedral Treasury).



THE MIDDLE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE REVELATIONS OF
PSEUDO-METHODIUS*

Gerrit H.V. Bunt

It is evident that in medieval England, as in other European countries, the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius enjoyed a wide popularity. Not only do English libraries possess a large number of manuscripts of its Latin text, but it was translated into English at least three times. A metrical translation was printed in 1918 by Charlotte D'Evelyn, and two prose versions are included in Perry's edition of a number of translations by John of Trevisa (Perry 1925, 94-112). While these three translations have thus been available to the world of scholarship for a considerable time, they have so far attracted very little attention.

The original text of the *Revelations* must have been composed towards the end of the seventh century in Syriac, but it was soon translated into Greek and thence into Latin.¹ Of the Latin text four recensions have been identified; the most widely known of these was a revised and abbreviated one which has come down to us in more than a hundred manuscripts. Pseudo-Methodius was used as a source by Peter Comestor in his *Historia Scholastica* and by numerous other writers.

The English metrical version consists of 975 lines in eight-line stanzas, many of which, in the text that has survived, are incomplete, no doubt at least partly due to scribal corruption. D'Evelyn (1918, 156) describes its style as "literal and labored, plain to the point of crudeness". The metrical version is preserved in a single manuscript, London, British Library, MS Stowe 953, which contains our Pseudo-Methodius text only. The manuscript can be dated to the fifteenth centu-

* I should like to thank George Kortekaas and Gerrit Reinink, who have helped me in various ways in the preparation of this paper. Sadly enough, it is now too late to thank Edmé Smits, whose early death in May 1992 deeply shocked all Groningen medievalists, for his equally invaluable help. Of course, for any errors and infelicities that remain I am alone responsible.

¹ For a plausible hypothesis about its original purpose and readership, see Reinink 1984 and 1988.

ry, and is associated by internal evidence with the village of Toft Monks in south-eastern Norfolk. The recent *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (LALME) analyses its dialect in Linguistic Profile 4633 and localizes it in southern Norfolk, a few miles to the west of Toft Monks.

D'Evelyn demonstrates quite clearly that the metrical version must go back to the short redaction of the Latin Pseudo-Methodius, 'Recensio 2' as Laureys-Verhelst (1988) label it. In the introduction she gives a very useful characterization of this short version, which she has found to be represented in twenty manuscripts now in English libraries (D'Evelyn 1918, 139); one further manuscript, BL Additional MS 34018 (no. 76 in the list of Latin Pseudo-Methodius manuscripts in Laureys-Verhelst 1988), she considers to be "an interpolated copy of the complete version" which contains "many small additions and alterations, which ... reappear in the short version" (D'Evelyn 1918, 140). She also lists eight manuscripts in Cambridge college libraries which she was unable to see, but whose incipits as quoted in the catalogues suggest that their Latin Pseudo-Methodius texts represent either the short redaction or the interpolated text of BL Addit. 34018. In an appendix she prints the short Latin redaction from Oxford, St. John's College, MS 128 (early 11th century; no. 100 in Laureys-Verhelst 1988), giving generous variants from two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 163 and MS Rawlinson Poet. 241 (nos. 175 and 181 in Laureys-Verhelst).

The main difference between the short redaction and the 'complete' Latin version as printed by Sackur (1898, 59-96) is, according to D'Evelyn (1918, 140-4), the elimination of the section dealing with the kings of Babylon and Persia, with Alexander and his inclusion of Gog and Magog (this episode in Pseudo-Methodius was the chief source for the Gog and Magog stories in West European Alexander romances), and with Chuseth and her relation to the Roman empire. There are numerous shorter omissions, as well as some alterations and minor additions, most of which also appear in BL MS Addit. 34018; the most important addition is the brief summary of the Creation and Fall at the beginning of the text, whereas the original version opens with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. The short version thus has a distinctive incipit.

The short version paraphrases roughly the first half of the book of Genesis with numerous legendary accretions, assigning precise dates to many events recounted there and fitting them into a dual time scheme of thousands of years and of the six ages of the world. The story then focuses upon the sons of Ishmael, their defeat by Gideon as related in Judges 6-8, and on the disasters that they caused and are to cause in the future. When they have been finally discomfited, the "king of the Romans and the Greeks" will surrender his power to God and place his crown upon the Cross; the Antichrist will appear, but he will be finally defeated, after which the Last Judgement will take place and history will come to an end.

Miss D'Evelyn makes no use of the earlier edition of the short Latin recension in Istrin (1897, 75-83), which also uses Oxford, St. John's College MS 128 as its copy text, giving selected variants from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds latin 13700 (no. 110 in Laureys-Verhelst), Berlin, Royal Library (now Deutsche Staatsbibliothek), MS Phill. 1904 (no. 51) and Oxford, Trinity College, MS 3 (no.

185). The work of both Istrin and D'Evelyn appears to be unknown to Rudolf, who in 1976 edited a 15th-century German translation of the short Pseudo-Methodius, together with a Latin text based primarily on the fragmentary text in the 10th-century MS 492 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, supplemented and corrected from four other manuscripts in the same library, nos. 4257, 3295, 4224 and 10688(15). In Laureys-Verhelst (1988) these manuscripts are listed as nos. 127-131.

This pattern of neglecting earlier work is continued in the recent edition by Prinz (1985) of another 'intermediate' between the 'complete' Latin redaction and the short recension, as it appears in Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C 65 (no. 134; an 8th-century manuscript formerly in the monastic library at St. Gall), which he compares with the 'complete' redaction as printed by Sackur and with four manuscripts of the short version, St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek MS 569 (no. 116), Vienna, Nationalbibliothek MS 492 (no. 127; Rudolf's copy text), London, British Library, MS Royal 5 F XVIII (no. 81), and, again, Oxford, St. John's College, MS 128 (no. 100). The Zürich text is close to the short redaction and likewise omits the sections dealing with the Babylonian and Persian kings, Alexander and Chuseth, and adds the brief remarks on the Creation and Fall at the beginning of the text. However, it contains some passages not present in the four manuscripts of the short recension that Prinz has collated and from which he gives selected variants. Prinz concludes that the revision falls into two recensions, an older one represented by the Zürich MS, and a younger one to which the other four manuscripts that he has studied belong.

The list of manuscripts of the various recensions of the Latin Pseudo-Methodius in Laureys-Verhelst (1988) similarly appears to ignore previous publications. A dozen manuscripts listed by D'Evelyn as belonging to the short recension are here given as 'noch nicht verarbeitet': nos. 164, 165, 166, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180,² 181, 185, 186, 188. Laureys-Verhelst also include under the MSS of Recensio 2 BL MS Addit. 34018, which D'Evelyn (1918, 140) describes as 'an interpolated copy of the complete version', i.e. Recensio 1; and thus some doubt is cast on the reliability of their assignment of manuscripts to the various recensions, and, indeed, on their identification of four redactions. On the other hand, their list is considerably fuller than that in D'Evelyn and a comparable list in Perry (1925, xxxvii ff.), which do not include a fair number of manuscripts in English libraries and completely ignore those in continental and American repositories.

The metrical version edited by D'Evelyn may not be a masterpiece, but it is certainly the most interesting of the three English Pseudo-Methodius translations. Far from following its Latin source slavishly, it omits some of its material and adds a good deal from other sources. According to D'Evelyn, some of this

2 No. 180 in Laureys-Verhelst (1988) is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 520. D'Evelyn (1918, 139) mentions MS Rawlinson D 250 (SC 13058), but this MS does not contain a Pseudo-Methodius text. I wish to thank Dr Hanneke Wirtjes for her help in checking the contents of these two manuscripts.

additional material is derived from the early 14th-century English poem *Cursor Mundi* (ed. Morris 1874-93). This account of the world's history from the Creation to the Day of Judgment is chiefly based on Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, but uses many other sources, including Pseudo-Methodius. *Cursor Mundi* was originally composed in the North of England, but some of its manuscripts have a more southerly provenance, and its use by a writer with Norfolk associations is not as such improbable. It is more difficult to accept D'Evelyn's assertion that two passages in the metrical version show a verbal dependence on Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (ed. Amours 1903-14). The verbal parallels are not really very striking; moreover, it seems unlikely that Wyntoun's universal chronicle, which has a marked emphasis on Scottish history and expresses pronounced anti-English sentiments, could be available far south of the Border. If we must reject D'Evelyn's theory of a dependence of our metrical translation on Wyntoun, the year 1424 as the *terminus a quo* for the metrical translation likewise disappears, although a date in the first half of the 15th century remains probable.

The Pseudo-Methodius material not included in the metrical English version is chiefly found in two passages (the references are to page numbers in the Appendix to D'Evelyn's 1918 article, with my own line numbering added): 199/5-15, with the quotations from 2 Thessalonians 2:3 and Genesis 16:12a³ and their application to the Ishmaelites as a people of the desert,⁴ and 202/13-5, which says that 144,000 from all tribes of Israel will be killed for the sake of Christ. The additions from other sources are woven into the poem quite skilfully. Some contain familiar material, such as Abel's acceptable sacrifice and his faithful payment of tithes (ll. 67-70), others may be taken from *Cursor Mundi*, for example Adam's hundred-year period of mourning for Abel before he begot Seth (ll. 73-80; cf. *CM* 1191-7), the lines on the pillars of clay and stone and the first astronomers (ll. 163-214; cf. *CM* 1530-52) and much of the passage on Antichrist (ll. 811-959), in which material from Pseudo-Methodius is combined with information which may be derived from *Cursor Mundi* (ll. 22073-426). Other passages which do not go back to Pseudo-Methodius, however, cannot be derived from *Cursor Mundi*; examples are ll. 334-45 on the effects of the Babylonian confusion of tongues, and ll. 476-91 on the Jews as the descendants of Isaac and the Saracens as the progeny of Ishmael.

In two passages we are reminded of the variant readings in MS Bodley 163, which contains a partly rewritten text. This is the case in l. 248, where we are told that it took Noah a hundred years to build the ark. The Latin text that D'Evelyn prints in her appendix from St. John's College Oxford MS 128 does not contain

3 This seems a more likely reference than Job 24:5 or Daniel 5:21, which Prinz (1985, 13) cites. However, the wild ass, or onager, is not mentioned at this point in the Vulgate, which reads 'hic erit ferus homo'; the wild ass must come from the Syriac Peshitta (see Reinink 1982). Cf. the 'complete' version in Sackur (1898, 85/5). The final sentence of Gen. 16:12 is cited in the short Latin version (D'Evelyn 1918, 196/20-22; I cannot find the citation in the 'complete' version) in a form which does agree with the Vulgate, which says "figet tabernacula" ('he will pitch tents'), whereas other texts of the Bible read "he will dwell."

4 A passage in the metrical English version containing some similar material is ll. 476-91 (see below), but this is very different in content and occurs at a later point in the text.

anything to this effect, but according to D'Evelyn's textual apparatus MS Bodley 163 adds "Legitur archa fuisse facta centum annis" ('we read that the ark was made in a hundred years'). MS Bodley 163 then lacks five lines dealing with the Flood itself, whereas the metrical English version (ll. 249-74) tells of the Flood in a quite different manner from D'Evelyn's Latin text.⁵ A little earlier, in ll. 225-30, the English adapter explains that the sons of God (cf. Genesis 6:2) are the descendants of Seth, and "mannys chyldryn" are the sons of Cain, and appeals to his "autere seynt methodius". This explanation does not occur in D'Evelyn's Latin text, but her apparatus does cite a similar passage in MS Bodley 163, which, however, also contains elements that the English text does not give at all or in a different place. There are numerous other elements in the English version which cannot possibly be derived from the somewhat deviant text of MS Bodley 163. At one point the English text agrees with MS Rawlinson Poet. 241; in l. 61 it tells us that Cain was born fifteen years after the expulsion from Paradise, whereas the Latin text (192/9) reads "tricesimo anno" ('in the thirtieth year'), but MS Rawlinson Poet. 241 has "xv". However, in the absence of a representative corpus of variants and of a stemma of the Latin Recensio 2 it is impossible to say anything definite on the relation of the metrical version to branches of the Latin tradition.

We have seen that the single manuscript which transmits the metrical version must be of Norfolk provenance. This does not in itself imply that the text was also originally composed in that county. A cursory study of the rhymes, however, does not reveal any features which are inconsistent with Norfolk as the area where the English metrical version was originally composed, although on the other hand they do not afford any positive evidence either. Rhymes like *runne: men: fen: bren* (ll. 779-85) depend on the dialectical variant *renne*, which like *brenne* is widespread. Similarly, the series of rhymes *mende: wynde: fynde: kende* (ll. 819-24) depends on variants with ME long /i:/ or, perhaps, short /i/; the south-eastern forms for the reflexes of OE *gemynd* and *gecynd* must be scribal, not authorial, and do not constitute evidence either for or against a Norfolk origin of the text.

We must agree with D'Evelyn that the style of the English metrical version is often crude and full of feeble tags. On the other hand, we have noted that the interpolation of additional material into the frame of the Pseudo-Methodius text has been effected with some skill. The versification, however, is mediocre, with many lines which refuse to scan (although again this may be at least partly due to scribal corruption) and a very limited range of rhyme-words. It is not, however, a literal translation, but one which shows a certain measure of originality.

The two prose translations follow their Latin source much more closely. One is preserved in two manuscripts, BL MS Harley 1900 and Huntington Library HM 28561 (formerly at Burghley House, Stamford), both of which also contain John of Trevisa's translation of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* and other work which is

5 At 194/9 this text reads "Et tulit Noe ex omni animalia uiuente ...", which makes no sense. For *animalia* we should read, with Istrin and Rudolf, *anima*. D'Evelyn's reading is based on a mistaken expansion of a Latin abbreviation.

plausibly attributed to Trevisa. It seems unlikely, however, that the present translation is also his work. Perry, who has edited the two prose translations of Pseudo-Methodius together with Trevisa's translations of the *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* by William Ockham and of Richard Fitzralph's sermon *Defensio Curatorum*, argues that the Pseudo-Methodius translation does not show any of the typical features of Trevisa's translations and must therefore be excluded from the Trevisa canon (Perry 1925, cxii-cxv). Perry was, however, apparently unaware of the existence of the short recension of the Latin Pseudo-Methodius, and he compares the English translation with the 'complete' recension as printed by Sackur. This causes him to reach mistaken conclusions as to the translator's methods. However, Perry's observations on word order and other linguistic usages characteristic of Trevisa which are not found in the Pseudo-Methodius translation attributed to him show convincingly that the present version can hardly be by Trevisa. Perry's edition of this text depends on the Harley MS only, since at the time the Burghley House MS could not be found. We shall refer to this translation as the H version.

The other Middle English prose translation is preserved in only one manuscript, BL Additional 37049, one hand of which has been localized by LALME in Nottinghamshire. In this manuscript the Pseudo-Methodius translation, illustrated by a series of drawings, appears together with a large number of other texts, mostly of a religious character (see Warner *et al.* 1907). This translation will be referred to as the A version.

Both prose versions tend to translate the Latin text of their source closely to the point of slavishness, although generally A is a more intelligent translator than H. In many cases both H and A translate almost word for word, and sometimes seem to pay little attention to context, which may lead to awkward mistranslations. An example is:

H 99/8-10 *bis was þe writ for þe rewme of þe sonnes of Iapheth here bigynneþ to do away þe rewme of þe sonnes of Cham*⁶

Noah's fourth son, Jonitus, has written a letter to Nimrod, and the Latin text says at this point:

195/22-23 *Hoc erat scriptum. quod regnum filiorum Japhet. hinc incipit delere regnum filiorum Cham.*

The H translator has misinterpreted *scriptum* as a noun instead of a perfect participle; he may also have been puzzled by the neuter *hoc* referring back to the feminine *epistolam* of the preceding sentence. The A translator avoids the mistake over *scriptum*:

A 99/24-26 *& þat was written for why ('because') þe kyngdom of þe sonnes of Japhet began fro þine to do away þe kyngdom of þe sonnes of Cham*

He is also less slavish, and allows himself a little more freedom in word order and the use of tenses.

A procedure which we find in both translations is the transfer of Latin case-endings of proper names to the English texts. A striking example in which two different Latin case-forms of the same name are used within a few lines is:

194/17-21 *Tricentesimo autem anno ... genuit Noe filium & uocauit nomen eius Ionitum. Anno tricentesimo & quinquagesimo ... dedit Noe eocham ... in dominationem filii sui Toniti (sic!)*

H 97/15-98/1 *In þe III^c ʒere, soþly, ... Noe gat a sone & cleped him Ionitum. In þe III^c ʒere and fifty ... Noe ʒaf þe lond Eocham ... into þe lordschip of his sone Ioniti*

A 97/30-98/19 *In þe thre hundreth ʒere ... gat Noe a son & cald hym Jonitum. In þe thre hundreth & fyfty ... gaf Noe þe lande of Etham ... in-to gyft of his son Ioniti*

The rendering *gyft* for *dominationem* is puzzling; perhaps A's Latin source manuscript had an abbreviation for *dominationem* which could be misread as *donationem* or *donum*. I have not found anything like this in those manuscripts whose variant readings were accessible to me. We shall return below to the question of variant readings in the two translators' source manuscripts.

In both English prose versions we can see certain procedures applied which may be the product of classroom 'construing'. A conspicuous example of this is the treatment of a Latin periphrastic future which consists of a participium futuri and a form of the verb *esse*. Both translations tend to render this with a form of *be* and a *to*-infinitive:

199/22 *qui sunt in Christo credituri*
H 106/1-2 *þat ben to trowe in Crist*
A 106/17 *þat ar to trow in Criste*

A familiar standard translation is also the invariable *soþly* or *forsoþe* for the Latin *autem* in H, where A usually has zero.

Both translations contain a number of puzzling renderings. Thus the Latin *castra* in 196/17 and 22 is given a curious and rare doublet translation in H:

H 100/14 and 101/4 *castels or tentis*

⁶ References are to pages and line numbers in Perry (1925); the Latin text is quoted from D'Evelyn (1918).

with *tentis* heavily underlined. A gives a different, but equally puzzling rendering of *castra*:

A 100/30 *hostes of pepyl*
A 101/19-20 *pair compenys*

More frequently, however, we encounter downright errors. Both our translators seem to have been unfamiliar with (*H*)*ebreus* as a name for the Jewish people, although they have no difficulty when the same word refers to the Hebrew language, as in the introductory rubric which tells us that the text was translated out of Hebrew and Greek into Latin. When the genitive *hebrej* (197/4) is used in apposition to the name of Gideon, both prose versions appear to treat it as a kind of additional name: H 101/12-13 has *of Gedeon Hebrei*, A 101/28 even corrupts it: *of Gedeon Eberrie*. The same difficulty appears again with ludicrous results in H in

197/16 *Nonne mille annos regnauerunt hebrei*
H 102/10 *Wheper þei regnyde not a M ʒere, vnsobre*

H must here have confused *Hebrei* with *ebrii*; or was he led astray by his Latin source manuscript? A omits this sentence.

A case of clear mistranslation occurs in

201/9 *Ex progenie enim sunt Iaphet*
H 108/13-14 *Of þe progenye forsope of hem beþ Iaphet*

where A is more accurate:

A 108/30 *þai ar of þe kynryden of Japhet*

This phrase is immediately followed by one which must have caused the Latin scribes as well as the English translators a great deal of difficulty. In the Latin text that D'Evelyn prints from St. John's College Oxford MS 128 we read

209/9-10 *& exeuntes de transubera aquilonis*

We should probably read this as *de trans ubera*. In the H translation this appears, in Perry's edition, as

H 108/14-15 *out goynge ouer þe tentis of þe norþe*

which makes little sense. Perhaps we should read *tetis* 'teats, breasts', which would accurately translate *ubera*. Some Latin manuscripts, however, have an

entirely different reading here. According to Istrin MS Phill. 1904 in what is now the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin has *exiet plaga aquilonis*, whereas from D'Evelyn's textual notes I gather that MS Bodley 163 reads *exeuntes de plaga aquilonis*. The A translator's Latin source manuscript must have resembled the Berlin MS at this point, since he translates

A 108/30-31 *& a plage sal go out of þe north*

The English *plage* and the Berlin manuscript's *plaga* probably mean 'pestilence, calamity'; in MS Bodley 163 *plaga* must be used in the sense 'region, climatic zone'.

This is only one of a considerable number of cases where it is clear that our two English prose translations go back to different Latin manuscripts. The general closeness of the two translations sometimes makes it possible to identify which Latin variant the translator must have had before him, although with our extremely fragmentary knowledge of the Latin tradition it is impossible to decide to which branch or branches the source manuscripts must have belonged. I shall give three examples of minute but substantive Latin variants which can be detected as underlying different translations in H and A.

196/25-26	<i>dominati sunt terris</i> (MS Rawlinson Poet. 241: <i>turris</i> ; MS Vienna Nat. 492 [Rudolf 1976, l. 100]: <i>dominauerunt terras</i>)
H 101/7-8 A 101/23	<i>þei hadde lordschipe of þe toure</i> <i>þai had lordyschip of landes</i>
199/5-6	<i>Cum uenerit discessio primum</i> (MSS Bodley 163 and Rawlinson Poet. 241: <i>dissensio</i>)
H 105/2 A 105/19-20	<i>Whanne dissencioun comeþ first</i> cites the Latin without translation: <i>Cum venerit discessio primum</i>
200/11	<i>de manu sarracenorum</i> (MS Rawlinson Poet. 241: <i>de manibus</i>)
H 107/1 A 107/19	<i>of þe hond of Sarsyns</i> <i>of þe handes of þe Sarzȳns</i>

But there are also more widely divergent Latin variants which can be seen to underlie differences between the two translations. Some examples are:

200/11-12	<i>Surget autem rex</i> (MSS Bodley 163 and the Berlin MS: <i>gens</i>) <i>Christianorum</i>
H 107/1-2 A 107/19-20	<i>A kyng forsope of Cristen men schal arise</i> <i>The Cristen pepyl sal ryse vp</i>

- 201/14 *percutiet eos cum fulgore* (MS Rawlinson Poet. 241: *shurfure*; MS Zürich Zentralbibl. C 65 [Prinz 1985]: *sulphure*)
 H 109/2-3 *schal smyte hem with sulphur*
 A 109/19-20 *he sal stryke þaim with leuenyng* ('lightning')

In the short Latin version Noah is said to leave the ark in his 601st year (194/11: "anno sexcentesimo primo"). H faithfully translates this

- H 97/8 *In þe VI^c zere & oon*

but A has

- A 97/22-23 *In þe sex hundreth zere*

According to D'Evelyn (1918, 143) BL MS Addit. 34018 also reads '600'.

A more complex variation occurs in the passage about Antichrist, where H 110/1-9 reads (I have numbered the phrases for ease of reference):

(1) & þe herte of him schal be enhaunsed myche, (2) siþþe he is a man of mannes seed, (3) of þe kynred of Dan. (4) & he schal make signes & many merueilis vppon erþe, (5) þat blynde men se, (6) lame men go, (7) deaf men here, (8) dede men as þouȝ þei rise. (9) And ȝif it may be do þat chosen men be led into errors, (10) he schal entre soþly into Ierusalem, & he schal sitte in þe temple of God, trowinge hymself as þouȝ he be God. (11) And he schal be disseyuable, & by disseyte he schal begyle many men.

In A 110/18-23 we find only part of this, and in a different order, 4.8.5.6.10.1.11.3, with the addition of (1a) "disputtyng as he war God". MS St. John's College Oxford 128, as printed by Istrin and D'Evelyn (1918, 201/27-202/6), has a different order again, 4.5.6.7.8.9.10.1.2.3.11 and adds (2a) "filius mulieris". MS Rawlinson Poet. 241 has the same order as H, but adds (2a); MS Bodley 163 appears to have the same order as the St. John's College MS, but adds (8a) "quod & tunc temporis uix electi facere poterunt"; the Zürich MS edited by Prinz has 4.5.6.7.8.9.10.1.2.2a.3.11, adding (8b) "convertit sol in tenebras, luna in sanguine et seducit multos"; and according to Istrin 1.2.2a.3 are lacking in Trinity College Oxford MS 3 and in St. John's College Oxford MS 135. While the Latin manuscripts to whose readings we have access thus present widely different readings, with MS Rawlinson Poet. 241 being closest to H, no single Latin manuscript can be identified which could underlie either H or A.

This is also the situation in the case of a number of passages present in one prose translation, but not in the other. A omits a fair number of short passages, usually of not more than one sentence, which we do find in H; and a smaller number of passages which A includes are lacking in H. Sometimes such omissions can be related to the Latin tradition, as in

- 193/15-17 *Quadragesimo autem anno tempore Jareth. transiuit primum miliarium seculi. Trecentesimo & quadragesimo anno uite Jareth. in secundo miliario seculi ...*

H. duly translates this as

- H 96/4-6 *In þe fourtiþe zere, soþly in þe tyme of Iareth, þe first þousand of þe world passid. In þe CCC & XL^o zere of þe lif of Iareth, in þe secunde þousand of þe world, ...*

but A gives only part of this:

- A 96/24 *In þe fourty zere of Jareth, in þe secunde thowsand of þe world, ...*

The passage omitted in A is also absent in MSS Bodley 163, Trinity College Oxford MS 3 and the Berlin MS.

A passage present in A but not in H and in part of the Latin tradition is

- A 102/30-32 *... þe whilk scriptur makes mencion of Australia brachia danyel hoc preuidens ...*

This is a clumsy rendering of a garbled version of what we find in the Latin text edited by Rudolf (1976, ll. 118-9):

... quod scriptura commemorat australi brachio. Danihel hoc preuidens ait: Et brachia Austri non sustinebunt (Dan. 11:15; italics Rudolf's)

More corrupt versions of this are also present in Prinz's Zürich MS (1985, l. 114-5) and in the Berlin MS from which Istrin gives some variants. It is absent in the text printed by D'Evelyn (1918, 197/21). The quotation from A also illustrates his practice of giving Latin quotations in the original, usually adding an English translation, while H gives the English translation only.

Often, however, there is every appearance that omissions are due to the translators themselves. This seems to be the case when A omits

- 192/10-11 *... & sororem eius Chalmanan. et post tricesimo secundo anno genuerunt Abel. & sororem eius Delboran*

which H translates

- H 95/2-4 *... & his suster Calmanam. And afterward in þe XXXII zere þei gendride Abel, & his suster Delboran*

H, but not A, omits the number in

- 196/13-14 ... *multas ciuitates septuaginta et viii* ...
 H 100/10-11 *many citees*
 A 100, 27-28 *many cytes, þat is to say seuenty & eght*

A passage found in A only which I cannot connect with any Latin manuscript of the short version of Pseudo-Methodius is

- A 110/23-26 [Dan], *wher of Jacob sayd: "Fiat Dan coluber in via etc. Dan sal be a serpent in þe way, & cerastes in semita, & a horned serpent in þe strayt way"* (Gen. 49:17)

This passage also appears to be absent from the Berlin MS, with which otherwise the A version shows a fair number of resemblances. It seems to fit excellently into the context and has every appearance of being genuine. Possibly its absence in the small number of manuscripts of the short Latin version which have now been collated is accidental, and further research may well bring to light manuscripts which have preserved this scriptural quotation.

In the foregoing three English translations of the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius have passed in review. All three went back to the short recension, and none appeared to be a major work of literary or translatorial art. We have seen that as yet we possess insufficient knowledge of the manuscript tradition of the Latin Pseudo-Methodius to assign to our English translations a place in that tradition, or to give an accurate description of the methods and procedures followed by our translators. A good deal of further research will be needed to make the numerous Latin manuscripts of the short version accessible to students of vernacular versions which are dependent on it. A stemma will have to be drawn up and a critical edition with a generous textual apparatus will need to be prepared. The research which is being carried on in the universities of Leuven and Groningen that is reported in Laureys-Verhelst (1988) will no doubt lead to useful editions of the Syriac and Greek texts, and of the Latin text closest to these, and is to be greatly welcomed; but a critical edition of the short version, which is much more significant for the reception of Pseudo-Methodius in Western Europe, remains on our list of desiderata.

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ROBERT DE BORON EN OUTREMER? LE CULTES DE JOSEPH
D'ARIMATHIE DANS LE MONDE BYZANTIN ET EN OUTREMER

Krijnie Ciggaar

Vint a Pilate isnelement

Et dist: "Servi t'ei longuement"

Robert de Boron, *Le Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*, vv.
441-2 (Nitze 1927, 16)*

Les contacts entre l'Europe de l'Ouest et le monde byzantin ont stimulé plus d'un artiste, plus d'un écrivain. Nous en trouvons de nombreux exemples dans la littérature et la civilisation françaises du Moyen Âge.

Chrétien de Troyes était un des premiers 'romanciers' à se laisser inspirer par Byzance. La suggestion a été faite que pour son *Perceval* ou *Conte du Graal* il a trouvé son inspiration en Orient. Le Graal, mystère ineffable et inexplicable, représenté par un plat précieux porté par une demoiselle noble (*damoisele*, v. 3221), précédé par la Lance qui saigne que porte un jeune homme (*vallés*, v. 3191), a donné lieu à mainte interprétation. Selon d'aucuns le sang et la lance viendraient de Byzance, selon d'autres, ayant un goût prononcé pour les croisades, ces reliques viendraient de la Terre Sainte. Depuis longtemps les reliques de la Passion furent montrées et vénérées à Constantinople où il y avait un service spécial pour le Saint Sang (Köhler 1972, 404). Philippe d'Alsace, à qui Chrétien a dédié son ouvrage, avait été en Orient, à Jérusalem et à Constantinople où il visita l'empereur byzantin. Là il a dû voir les reliques de la Passion et peut-être en avait-il rapporté. Il est possible qu'il ait assisté à la Liturgie byzantine, celle de tous les jours ou celle de Pâques.¹

Quelque temps après, Robert de Boron réintroduit le thème du Graal. De sa trilogie en vers, comprenant *Joseph*, *Merlin* et *Perceval*, seul *Joseph*, intitulé aussi *Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*, nous est parvenu, le reste étant connu en prose

* Pour diverses informations je veux remercier ici Madame C. Galatariotou, MM. P. Dirksen, C.P. Kyrris, L. van Rompay, W. Strothmann, et en particulier M. Pierre Gallais d'avoir fait quelques remarques critiques et d'avoir eu la gentillesse de corriger le français. Ailleurs j'espère revenir sur d'autres éléments byzantins et syriens.

¹ Roach 1959, vv. 13 (p. 1), 3192s. (p. 93), 3220s. (p. 94); Foulet 1978, 31, 104. Huyghebaert (1963) a montré que Thierry d'Alsace n'a pas apporté à Bruges cette relique.

seulement.² Généralement on accepte comme date de composition la fin du XIII^e siècle, le début du XIII^e siècle, en tout cas une date avant 1202.³ Robert parle de façon plus explicite du Graal. Chez lui il s'agit du 'vase' (*veissel*) où le sang du Christ fut recueilli par Joseph d'Arimathie à la Descente de la Croix. Plus tard le Christ le lui apporta en prison. Il avait appartenu à Simon chez qui le Christ prit des repas. Il se trouvait sur la table lors de la Dernière Cène. Quand le Christ fut trahi dans la maison de Simon le *veissel* fut volé et le voleur en fit don à Pilate qui, à son tour, le donna à Joseph d'Arimathie. C'est ce 'vase' (je laisse de côté l'idée que le *veissel* serait une coupe) qui va jouer un rôle primordial dans l'oeuvre de Robert de Boron. C'est là aussi l'originalité de Robert de Boron.⁴

Nombreux sont les commentaires et les interprétations de l'oeuvre de Robert de Boron. Peu nombreux sont les commentaires qui parlent d'une influence du monde grec. Dans le nom 'Enygeus', nom de la soeur de Joseph dans le *Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*, P. Imbs a voulu voir un nom grec. Par anagramme le nom représenterait l'adjectif εὐγενής (bien né, généreux, de nobles sentiments), qualification de Joseph dans la version grecque B des *Actes de Pilate (Evangile de Nicodème)*.⁵ L'adaptation en ancien néerlandais par Jacob van Maerlant, faite entre 1258 et 1261 (conservée dans un ms. du XVe siècle), nous apprend la justesse de cette hypothèse. Van Maerlant donne 'Eugenie', rendant directement le grec εὐγενής/εὐγενής. Le nom Eugénie, nom courant à Byzance, ne se rencontre pas dans la littérature d'imagination française du Moyen Age, ni dans les chansons de geste, ni dans les romans courtois. La corruption du nom est peut-être due à sa rareté. Apparemment Van Maerlant s'est servi d'une version où le nom s'était bien conservé car il est peu vraisemblable qu'il ait pu, de lui-même, trouver 'Eugénie' dans la mystérieuse 'Enygeus' de son prédécesseur français.⁶

En 1970 M. Pierre Gallais a suggéré que Robert de Boron avait été en Orient, en Outremer et plus spécialement en Chypre. Là il aurait accompagné et servi Gautier de Montbéliard, à l'époque où il écrivait cet ouvrage: *A ce tens que je la retreis / O mon seigneur GAUTIER en peis / qui de MONT BELYAL estoit* (vv. 3489-91). Le passage manque dans une partie des manuscrits donnant la version en prose. Au début du XIII^e siècle, en 1201, lors de la quatrième croisade, Gautier de Montbéliard était parti en Orient pour y faire carrière. En épousant Bourgogne, fille d'Amaury II, roi de Jérusalem et seigneur de Chypre, il avait obtenu après la mort de celui-ci la régence de Chypre pour Hugues, son beau-frère.⁷

2 Pour le roman en vers je me suis servie de l'édition Nitze 1927 (trad. allem. Sandkühler 1958; Schöler-Beinhauer 1981); pour la version en prose voir par exemple Cerquiglini 1981.

3 Zumthor 1954, 213; Holmes 1962, 292; Lacy 1986, 457; Zambon 1984, 16s.

4 Lacy 1986, s.v. Grail, 257-60.

5 Imbs 1954; *Acta Pilati* dans *Evangelia apocrypha*, éd. C. de Tischendorf, Leipzig 1876, 311 (voir aussi 249). Il existe des versions en géorgien, en copte, en syriaque etc., voir Schneemelcher 1987, 399.

6 Sodmann 1980, 9, 13, 25; vv. 1010, 1051, 1507 (p. 144, 145, 158; dans Van Vloten 1880 vv. 1324, 1365, 1826). Il semble que Van Maerlant a laissé de côté les éléments apocryphes. Cf. Flutre 1962; Langlois 1904.

7 Gallais 1970; O'Gorman 1971, 164, 176, 180; Poirion (1983, 102) évoque prudemment une 'connection orientale'.

Ce n'est pas le lieu ici d'esquisser l'histoire de Chypre, terre byzantine tombée entre les mains des Lusignans. Cette dynastie de seigneurs poitevins l'avait achetée aux Templiers en 1191/2. Guy de Lusignan (1192-1194), ancien roi de Jérusalem, s'établit en Chypre. Malgré la domination latine, la population grecque de l'île restait fidèle à la foi orthodoxe et à la langue grecque. L'église grecque autocéphale, indépendante du patriarche de Constantinople, avait de bons contacts avec le patriarcat d'Antioche. Le rite byzantin se maintenait et les artistes grecs continuaient à produire des oeuvres d'art et à décorer les sanctuaires de l'île. Les chevaliers occidentaux vivaient dans une ambiance byzantine.

Revenons un instant à Gautier de Montbéliard, régent de Chypre de 1205 à 1210. A la majorité de Hugues, en 1210, il a dû quitter l'île, probablement à cause de malversations financières. Il alla en Syrie, chez son cousin Jean de Brienne, roi de Jérusalem, et il mourut en 1212. C'est dans la période de 1201 à 1210 que Robert de Boron aurait écrit son roman du Graal selon M. Gallais, qui suggère en même temps que les arts byzantins, mosaïques et peintures, ont pu influencer certains éléments dans cette oeuvre. Il se réfère à l'iconographie byzantine de l'Entrée à Jérusalem (enfant dans l'arbre), la Sainte Cène (avec un grand poisson sur la table), la Descente de la Croix, les images de saint Constantin et de sainte Hélène, tous les deux populaires en Chypre, etc. De plus il suggère que le nom d'Alain, personnage qui garde le Graal, dérive du nom du premier archevêque latin de Chypre (1195/6-1205) qui avait été archidiacre de Lydda/Diospolis, en Palestine.⁸ C'est là, dans l'église fondée par Joseph d'Arimathie, que son culte s'était développé, fondé par une légende de Joseph, gardien du Saint Sang qu'il avait recueilli dans un tissu. Dans cette église une icône de la Vierge avait opéré un miracle lors de la construction de l'église.⁹

En 1981 M. Zambon confirme l'origine orientale du Graal quand il conclut "qu'il est bien connu que la matière du *Joseph* dépend largement, de façon directe ou indirecte, de légendes orientales ainsi que d'apocryphes d'origine byzantine".¹⁰

Récemment M. et Mme Kahane ont publié leur hypothèse sur le Graal dans un article intitulé "Robert de Boron's Joseph of Arimathea. Byzantine Echoes in the Grail Myth". Ils se réfèrent à la théologie byzantine de la Trinité et de l'Incarnation, et au rôle de Joseph d'Arimathie comme 'évangéliste' et aussi à son rôle dans la genèse des hymnes du *Trisagion* (Τρισάγιον) et du *Monogenis* (Μονογενής), chants liturgiques bien connus dans l'église byzantine et dans d'autres églises orientales. Quant au *Trisagion* ce sont plutôt des théologiens syriens monophysites, Moïse bar Képha (mort en 913) et Denys bar Salibi (mort en 1171), qui ont, dans leurs *Expositiones Liturgiae*, commenté et accentué le rôle de Joseph chantant cet hymne lors de la Mise au Tombeau du Christ. Dans ce contexte nous rencontrons Joseph comme conseiller de Pilate (Kahane 1988).

Le but de cet article est de combiner les hypothèses venant de la part des Romanistes et des Byzantinistes. Pour autant qu'il soit possible dans le cadre

8 *Estoire d'Eracles*, RHC Occ., II, 305, 315-6, 333 (n. a); Gallais 1970, 315s.; Longnon 1978, 20-1.

9 De la version géorgienne (remontant à un modèle grec?) il existe deux traductions en allemand: Harnack 1901 et Kluge 1915.

10 Zambon 1982; Zambon (1984, 17) doute que Robert ait été en Orient.

limité de cette étude, j'essaierai de mieux définir le contexte historique, religieux et culturel de quelques aspects du *Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*, et notamment le rôle et le culte de Joseph d'Arimathie, touchant par-ci par-là à d'autres aspects 'orientaux'.

Directement ou indirectement ces hypothèses se rejoignent en territoire byzantin. J'aimerais suivre la piste tracée déjà par M. Gallais, piste qui mène à l'île de Chypre, terre byzantine tombée entre les mains de Richard Coeur de Lion, puis faisant partie, au début du XIII^e siècle, de l'Outremer latin. Chypre devient alors un des carrefours entre le monde grec et le monde latin, ayant en même temps de bonnes relations avec d'autres églises orientales en Terre Sainte, parmi lesquelles les églises syriennes. L'influence de la théologie et de la liturgie grecques sur les églises syriennes (jacobite, nestorienne etc.) et celle des églises syriennes sur l'église orthodoxe avait été intense depuis longtemps, même à l'époque où le grec fut remplacé par le syriaque et malgré l'adoption du monophysisme par beaucoup de Syriens. D'abord je parlerai du rôle de Joseph dans l'église byzantine orthodoxe, puis dans l'église latine en Terre Sainte. Puisque les deux théologiens cités par les Kahane étaient des Jacobites, je m'arrêterai un instant sur l'église syrienne jacobite et sa position en Outremer. Après nous passerons en Chypre où j'espère trouver l'ambiance nécessaire pour produire un ouvrage comme celui de Robert de Boron.

I

Le rôle de saint Joseph d'Arimathie dans l'église byzantine est très divers. Un seul manuscrit du Synaxaire (livre liturgique réglant l'office des saints dans l'année liturgique, produit sur le Mont Athos au début du XIV^e siècle) fait mention de lui. Sa fête, le 31 juillet, est passée sous silence. Il figurait dans quelques chants liturgiques, entre autres dans le tropaire bien connu "Le noble Joseph", ὁ εὐσχήμων Ἰωσήφ, chanté dans le service de la Semaine Sainte jusqu'à nos jours. Au Xe siècle, le patriarche Nicolas I^{er} de Constantinople composa un canon sur la Lamentation de la Vierge où Joseph joue un rôle.

Dans les sermons de la Semaine Sainte Joseph figurait souvent. Dans un sermon sur la Résurrection de Grégoire, patriarche d'Antioche (570-593), Joseph est qualifié d'εὐγενής, comme dans les *Actes de Pilate*.¹¹

Au XI^e et XII^e siècles on voit un nouvel intérêt au rôle et au culte de Joseph. L'empereur Manuel I^{er} (1143-1180) fit transférer en 1169/70 à Constantinople une pierre se trouvant à Ephèse. Sur cette pierre le Christ avait été déposé et

11 Kahane 1988, 328; Delehay 1902, 857-8 (cf. Mateos 1963, 248, référence peu claire; Follieri 1966, 179, cf. La Piana 1912, 191-2 (texte). *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople. Miscellaneous Writings*, éd. Westerink 1981, 92-3, 98-9. Aristarches 1900, II, 451-457 (trad. angl. Mango 1958, 191-2, 198-202). Pour d'autres sermons: *PG (Patrologia Graeca)* 88, c. 1849s. (Grégoire d'Antioche), *PG* 43, c. 445s. (Pseudo-Epiphanius), *PG* 96, c. 601s. (Jean de Damas), *PG* 100, c. 1483s. (George de Nicomédie), *PG* 114, c. 216s. (Syméon Métaphraste). Le nom de Joseph n'était pas très populaire à Byzance (cf. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, IV, Vienne 1980, nos. 8961-9080).

lavé par Joseph après la Crucifixion. Là Joseph recueillit les gouttes de sang sortant des blessures. En imitation de ce disciple du Christ, l'empereur Manuel, lui-même qualifié d'ἱσαπόστολος (comme tous les empereurs byzantins), porta la pierre du port de Constantinople jusqu'à la chapelle du Phare, dans le palais impérial.¹² A cette occasion Georges Scylitzès, un fonctionnaire du palais, a composé un chant liturgique où Joseph est mentionné plusieurs fois (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1889, 180-9). Le nom de Joseph était lié aux clous avec lesquels le Christ fut crucifié et que Joseph avait enlevés. Quelques clous se trouvaient dans la chapelle impériale à Constantinople. Une description anonyme de Constantinople du XII^e siècle, mentionnant les clous dans la capitale byzantine, dit que le corps de Joseph se trouvait à Jérusalem dans la chapelle royale (Riant 1877-78, I, ccvj-ccvij; II, 217). Voilà pour le culte de Joseph à Byzance.

Dans les arts byzantins, Joseph d'Arimathie fut régulièrement représenté, dans les peintures, ivoires, manuscrits etc. A l'époque des Comnène, aux XI^e et XII^e siècles, se développe le programme iconographique des églises où figurent aussi la Descente de la Croix, la Lamentation (le Thrène) et la Mise au Tombeau. Souvent Joseph y est représenté avec un nimbe. Une des peintures les mieux connues est la Lamentation de l'église de Nêrez (près de Skopje). C'est une fondation aristocratique commencée en 1164/5 par Alexis Ange, petit-fils de l'empereur Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1081-1118). L'art byzantin de la capitale rayonnait sur les provinces. Dans les Balkans Kurbinovo est un autre exemple bien connu. Dans l'île de Chypre on trouve ces scènes dans plusieurs sanctuaires, par exemple dans le monastère fondé par saint Néophyte, près de Paphos. Les artistes byzantins puisaient dans d'anciennes traditions.¹³

D'où vient cet intérêt porté à Joseph au XII^e siècle? Une réponse définitive à cette question n'est pas possible pour le moment. Est-ce simplement une continuation d'anciennes traditions, quelque peu renforçant le rôle de Joseph? La suggestion a été faite que l'intensification de la vénération du Christ crucifié, commencée au XI^e siècle, trouve son point culminant au siècle suivant, Joseph faisant partie de l'histoire de la Passion. La tragédie de la Passion va s'exprimer surtout dans les scènes de la Crucifixion, la Lamentation, la Descente de la Croix et la Mise au Tombeau. Les trois dernières scènes requièrent la présence de Joseph d'Arimathie. Dans l'Europe de l'Ouest on voit également le développement de la dévotion personnelle, surtout en relation avec la Passion du Christ.¹⁴

12 Jean Cinnamos, *Chronique*, dans Meineke 1836, 277-8 (trad. fr. J. Rosenblum, Nice 1972, p. 179; trad. angl. Brand 1976, 207-8); Nicéas Choniâtès, *Historia*, dans Bekker 1835, 289-90, dans Van Dielen 1975, 222 (trad. allem. Grabler 1958, 272-3). Pour l'inscription de la pierre: Mango 1969-70, 372-5; Treitinger 1956, 129s.

13 Pour quelques ivoires et manuscrits voir Weitzmann 1961, 476-90 (avec ill.); Wharton Epstein 1986, 64-5, et ill. 37-8; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1979, I, 287-329. Pour Chypre voir plus bas. Pour l'Ouest, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (Kirschbaum e.a.).

14 Belting 1980-81. En Palestine le culte de la mort du Christ existait déjà (Pallas 1965, 22-35; De Bruin 1977-78, 133s.).

Il sera intéressant de voir si cette tendance 'doloriste', cette tendance à la dévotion, y compris le rôle de Joseph d'Arimatee, se retrouve en Outremer. En effet les croisés étaient familiers avec le culte de Joseph à Lydda/Diospolis où Joseph avait fondé une église, comme nous apprend Guillaume de Tyr (ca. 1130-1186) à propos de la consécration d'Amaury, nouvel évêque de Sidon:

*in eo loco qui dicitur Sancti Abacuc sive Sancti Joseph, qui cognominatus est ab Arimathia, vir simplex ac timens Deum et egregie conversationis. Qui [i.e. Amalricus] in ecclesia Liddensi per manum domini Petri, felicitis memorie Tyrensis archiepiscopi, munus consecrationis dicitur recepisse, quoniam ab urbe obsessa nulli longius abscedere dabatur licentia.*¹⁵

L'élévation à la dignité épiscopale dans l'église fondée par Joseph qui avait recueilli le précieux sang du Christ, était sans doute un privilège. A Lydda les croisés vénéraient aussi saint Georges, saint guerrier byzantin opérant des miracles pour toutes les nations: un garçon arabe y avait vu le miracle de l'Eucharistie. La Mère de Dieu, qui joue un rôle au début du *Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal* (rôle qui reste à mieux définir), y avait opéré un miracle lors de la construction de l'église.¹⁶

Faute d'autres sources, théologiques et liturgiques, regardons de plus près la présence de reliques. Selon une tradition probablement postérieure à l'ouvrage de Robert de Boron les Génois prétendaient avoir trouvé le *veissel* où Joseph avait recueilli le sang du Christ, lors de la conquête de Césarée en 1101.¹⁷ En 1106/7 le pèlerin russe Daniel visita Arimatee (à peu de distance de Lydda) et y vit le tombeau de Joseph.¹⁸ Une description anonyme des Lieux Saints, écrite entre 1128 et 1137, confirme cette présence. Le corps de Joseph se trouve toujours là, mais la tenaille et un des clous avaient été translatés à Bethléem, deux autres clous se trouvant dans la chapelle royale de Jérusalem.¹⁹ Un pèlerin (allemand?) Théodoric voit le tombeau de Joseph à Bethléem entre 1169 et 1174 (Wilkinson 1988, 306; Bulst 1976). Vers 1170 le marteau de Joseph et un clou se trouvent à Jérusalem, selon un autre anonyme (Wilkinson 1988, 241). Vers cette époque les reliques de Joseph furent aussi transférées à Jérusalem, selon la description anonyme de Constantinople que nous avons citée plus haut, description qui semble dater entre environ 1169 et 1187, prise de Jérusalem par Saladin. Les

15 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, dans Huygens 1986, 797 (17, 26, 47) = RHC Occ., II, Paris 1844, p. 803-4, où on trouve aussi l'*Estoire d'Eracles*.

16 Voir note 8, et Aufhauser 1911, 7s., 20-2. Nous ne savons pas si ces textes étaient connus des croisés.

17 Les reliques de Joseph se trouvant dans l'Ouest depuis l'époque carolingienne furent négligées: cf. Paris 1872, 457-8; Prawer 1975, 266; il est remarquable que c'est le seul 'Graal' ayant la forme d'un plat, cf. Bouyer 1986, 121, et ill. en haut de la page 122.

18 Trad. angl. dans Wilkinson 1988, 156; trad. franç. dans De Khitrowo 1889, 58.

19 Wilkinson 1988, 205 (cf. De Vogüé 1860, 429, où Joseph, dans le texte latin, est qualifié d'Evangelista).

auteurs arabes du XIIe et XIIIe siècles font mention du 'jardin de Joseph le juste' que visitent les pèlerins (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1889, 180-9; Marmardji 1951, 185-6). Il semble que les rois de Jérusalem faisaient la collection de reliques de Joseph d'Arimatee. Robert de Boron parle, lui aussi, de la tenaille et du marteau dont se servit Joseph pour enlever le Christ de la croix, *tenailles prist et un martel* (v. 523). Ailleurs il fait remarquer que Joseph est retourné (et mort?) à Arimatee, *en la terre lau il fu nez, / et Joseph si est demourez* (vv. 3459-60).²⁰

Y a-t-il un rapport avec la restauration de l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem? En 1169 l'empereur byzantin Manuel Comnène et le roi Amaury de Jérusalem ont terminé cette restauration et la mise en place de nouvelles mosaïques. L'évêque de Bethléem se vit-il obligé d'exprimer sa gratitude envers son seigneur, le roi de Jérusalem, en lui cédant d'importantes reliques? En tout cas les rois de Jérusalem réussirent à faire une collection importante de reliques de Joseph: son corps, la tenaille, le marteau et quelques clous. On dirait presque qu'il y avait une rivalité entre les souverains de Jérusalem et de Constantinople. La plupart des mosaïques de l'église de la Nativité se sont abîmées, y compris la scène de la Mise au Tombeau où Joseph devait figurer.²¹

Il n'existe pas d'inventaire des arts dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem ni de leur iconographie. L'influence byzantine s'y est fait sentir comme le prouve le Psautier de la reine Mélisende (1131-1143), où les scènes du Nouveau Testament, y compris la Lamentation (nous voyons le Christ, la Vierge, saint Jean, Joseph et Nicodème), remontent à des modèles byzantins du XIe siècle. Les calendriers du Saint Sépulcre cependant ne mentionnent pas Joseph d'Arimatee.²²

A part les Orthodoxes grecs il y avait en Terre Sainte d'autres églises orientales, notamment les églises syriennes (Maronite, Melkite, Nestorienne, Jacobite). Les diverses églises avaient des autels dans les églises de pèlerinage. Les églises orientales et leurs traditions remontaient à des temps anciens, comme la tradition d'accentuer la Passion du Christ dans la Liturgie. Joseph d'Arimatee y avait sa part, comme dans la théologie. Au XIe siècle il fut commémoré le troisième dimanche après Pâques, dans l'église melkite.²³

Les croisés avaient des contacts avec les églises en Outremer. Une notice en syriaque, écrite dans le monastère jacobite à Jérusalem, dédié à sainte Marie-Madeleine et à saint Simon et servant de résidence au métropolitain, en est la preuve. L'ancienne maison de saint Simon était devenue un lieu de pèlerinage.²⁴

20 Cf. O'Gorman (1971, 176), qui y voit une marque d'authenticité. Dans la version néerlandaise (Sodmann 1980) vv. 1555s., p. 159.

21 *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, I, s.v. Bethlehem; en 1167 Amaury épousa Marie Comnène, nièce de Manuel Comnène. Voir aussi Lafontaine-Dosogne 1979, 303 (cf. Lazarev 1967, 119, n. 23, 215-6). Amaury visita Constantinople (Runciman 1982, 153-8).

22 Buchthal 1957, 1-14, et fig. 9a (fol. 9r). Un appendice, p. 107s., donne les calendriers.

23 P.e. Runciman 1971, 294; Pallas 1965, 30s.; Khouri-Sarkis 1963, 8; p.e. Pigulevskaja 1968, 168-72 (nos. 2, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 37, pour Joseph); pour son rôle restreint dans les chants liturgiques de la Passion en syriaque, voir Strothmann 1989, information donnée par M. Strothmann. Wright 1870, 194, 200 (pour église melkite, information donnée par M. Dirksen).

24 Martin 1888-89; Wilkinson 1988, 179. Un évêque syrien apporta à Richard Cœur-de-Lion une relique de la Vraie Croix originaire de Lydda: *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, dans Stubbs 1864, 376, 438 (plusieurs services dans une église).

Entre 1166 et 1171 le métropolite jacobite Ignace demanda à Denys bar Salibi, évêque d'Amida, d'écrire une *Expositio missae*, pour pouvoir discuter avec les Francs. Cette *Expositio missae* est identique à l'*Expositio liturgiae* à laquelle M. et Mme Kahane se sont déjà référés. Voilà la preuve que les Occidentaux en Outremer s'intéressaient à la Liturgie des églises orientales. Le rôle de Joseph d'Arimathie dans le *Trisagion* y est accentué par Salibi comme il le fait ailleurs.²⁵ Dans ses travaux théologiques, Denys bar Salibi se laissait inspirer par Moïse bar Képha. Dans son commentaire sur l'Evangile selon saint Jean celui-ci parle de Joseph d'Arimathie comme d'un ami de Pilate. Faisons remarquer que les églises syriennes étaient moins hostiles à son égard que ne l'était l'église occidentale.²⁶

Les descriptions des lieux saints sont vagues quant à la dénomination des églises hébergeant les reliques, de sorte qu'on ne peut dire dans quel milieu religieux les reliques de Joseph furent vénérées plus particulièrement. Les Melkites, par exemple, semblent avoir eu des intérêts (et des profits?) dans les pèlerinages de Lydda et de Bethléem (Richard 1966, 452, 460).

Les contacts et les influences entre les églises syriennes et l'église byzantine orthodoxe, malgré des hostilités, restaient intenses. Cela est manifeste dans la Liturgie, l'hymnographie et l'iconographie des arts religieux. La Déposition de la Croix et la Mise au Tombeau se retrouvent dans les Evangéliaires syriaques. Notons ici que dans un évangélaire syriaque du XIIe/XIIIe siècle (Londres, BL Add. 7169, fol. 11v) la Dernière Cène a lieu autour d'une table ronde, sur laquelle se trouve un objet non identifié. Au Mont Sinaï, autre carrefour du monde grec, syrien et latin, Joseph figurait sur des icônes.²⁷

Les Syriens maronites avaient des contacts avec Chypre. Deux abbés du monastère de Koutsoveni furent d'origine syrienne. Rien d'étonnant à ce que des manuscrits syriaques se soient trouvés en Chypre (Leroy 1964, 235, 429).

III

De Jérusalem à Chypre il n'y a qu'un pas. Guy de Lusignan (1192-1194) et son successeur, son frère Amaury (1194-1205), s'établirent en Chypre. Nous ne savons pas s'ils ont apporté des reliques de Jérusalem en Chypre ou si celles-ci ont trouvé leur chemin dans les sanctuaires syriens à Jérusalem.²⁸ Pendant le règne

25 Kahane 1988, 330-1; *Dionysius Bar Salibi, Expositio Liturgiae*, dans Labourt 1903, 3, 33, 43-4. Dans un traité contre les Melkites il le répète: Mingana 1927, 58 (texte syriaque et trad. angl.; l'auteur y réfère encore aux Francs, p.e. p. 26). Voir aussi Duval 1907, 399-400.

26 *Der Johanneskommentar des Moses Bar Képha. Übers. Joh. Kap. 10, 22-Kap. 21*, Schlimme 1981, 356 (cf. *Evangile de Pierre*, éd. Mara 1973, 42-3, texte grec et trad. franç., où Joseph est aussi un ami de Pilate). Le commentaire de Moïse bar Képha sur l'Evangile de St Jean est inédit (Schlimme 1978, xxvii, n. 1; voir aussi Duval 1907, 391-2). Mingana (1929, 243) parle du rôle de Pilate dans les églises orientales. Une étude systématique sur le rôle de Joseph d'Arimathie dans ces églises pourrait être intéressante.

27 Leroy 1964, 273, 275, 293-9, 302, 308, 353 (table ronde), avec ill., pl. 91, 106, 119, 133. Cf. Weitzmann 1982, 299. Les peintures du monastère Bar Sauma (1192-3) ne se sont pas conservées.

28 A une époque indéterminée le tombeau de Joseph passa aux mains des Syriens jacobites de Jérusalem (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 408).

des Lusignans, l'église latine va s'implanter solidement en Chypre. Alain, ancien archidiacre latin de Lydda et sans doute familier avec les légendes grecques de son siège, devient archevêque latin de Chypre (1195/6-1205). M. Gallais voit en lui le modèle, pour le nom, de l'Alain figurant dans l'ouvrage de Robert de Boron, où il va garder le Graal, lui, le fils d'Hébron (le roi Pêcheur) et d'Eugénie. Est-ce qu'une date de composition avant la mort de l'archevêque s'impose? Petrus, évêque de Tyr, avait intronisé à Lydda Amaury, nouvel évêque de Sidon. Ce Petrus a-t-il été le modèle pour le Petrus, le 'personnage imaginaire qui explique le sens du Graal' (Nitze 1927, 132, index)? Esaïe, archevêque grec de Chypre (1205-1209, et après?) avait dû quitter, lui aussi, le siège grec de Lydda. Il est curieux de constater que la dédicace de l'église de St Georges de Lydda fut commémorée en Chypre, le 4 novembre. Des prélats, originaires de Lydda, centre du culte de Joseph d'Arimathie, vont diriger l'église latine et l'église grecque de Chypre. En 1204 Lydda redevient franque dans le traité avec al-Malik al 'Adil. Dans de telles circonstances le transfert de reliques et de légendes est probable.²⁹

Pour contrebalancer l'élément grec en Chypre les Lusignans invitaient des étrangers à s'y établir. Beaucoup de Syriens, originaires de Jérusalem, étaient arrivés pour profiter des exemptions de taxes. Ils y trouvaient des compatriotes y demeurant depuis longtemps. Chypre était un creuset de peuples, de langues, de religions et de cultures. On y apprenait le grec et le syriaque pour correspondre avec l'empereur byzantin à Constantinople et le patriarche d'Antioche.³⁰ L'élément syrien n'était pas à négliger dans l'île où le monophysisme (si populaire dans le milieu syrien) s'était répandu, comme l'a démontré M. Sacopoulo. On devait être au courant des idées des théologiens syriens comme Denys bar Salibi, actif dans le Nord de la Syrie, à Mélitène, à Maras et à Amida. On se servait de livres liturgiques en syriaque. Quant à leurs sanctuaires en Chypre et à leur décoration, nous sommes dans le noir. A Koutsoveni Joseph jouait le rôle principal dans la Déposition de la Croix, datant du début du XIIe siècle. Saint Néophyte a pu y rencontrer les abbés syriens, et apprendre leurs idées.³¹

Quoi d'étonnant à ce que les Occidentaux en Chypre aient pris connaissance de ce monde religieux oriental, grec et syrien? Si l'on voulait établir un règne latin dans ce monde oriental si complexe, il fallait s'adapter et s'accommoder.

Revenons un instant à l'idée que Joseph d'Arimathie avait servi Pilate comme conseiller, d'après Denys bar Salibi, dans son commentaire sur le *Trisagion*. C'est là un développement assez logique du terme 'conseiller' (βουλευτής) que nous trouvons dans Luc 23, 50s., Joseph étant membre du Sanhédrin. Robert de Boron cependant fait de lui un 'soudoyer', quelqu'un qui devait recevoir une solde, mais qui n'avait rien reçu, ce qui est bien bizarre pour un homme qui doit vivre: *lui servoit uns soudoiers/qui souz lui eut cinc chevaliers* (vv. 199-200). Ail-

29 Laurent 1949, 36, 41; Prawer 1975, II, 123; Darrouzès 1957, 153, no. 101 (Paris, BN Cod. 1591 = Colbert 2822, fol. 52, note marginale).

30 Richard 1979, 157-73. *Makhairas*, Dawkins 1932, 24, 25, 142, 143 (trad. fr. E. Miller et C. Sathas, Paris 1882, 17, 18, 87).

31 Sacopoulo 1975, 79s., 84, où mention est faite d'une lettre papale de 1222 contre les Syriens; Leroy (1964, 235) parle d'un manuscrit syriaque illuminé avec des inscriptions en grec.

leurs il parle de lui comme d'un ami de Pilate: *et en sen cuer mout l'en pesoit/que nul si boen ami n'avoit* (vv. 709-10). Robert de Boron fut-il quelque peu influencé par l'attitude hostile de l'église occidentale à l'égard de Pilate? Il est toutefois possible que Joseph, servant sous les ordres de Pilate, ait pu entrer dans la littérature française par l'intermédiaire de Robert de Boron.³² Notons en passant que le *Trisagion* (le *Sanctus* en latin) était connu, dès le VII^e-VIII^e siècle, dans les liturgies romaine et gallicane et fut chanté en grec et en latin durant la Semaine Sainte. Dans la Liturgie grecque ou syriaque ce chant liturgique a pu être un point de repère pour un Occidental en Orient qui était curieux d'en savoir plus long (Wellesz 1947, 19s.; cf. Viret 1982, 346-7).

Avant l'arrivée des Latins en Chypre, des gens connaissant le grec et le syriaque, des Grecs et des Syriens, travaillaient dans la chancellerie. Alain, archidiacre de Lydda, y était actif. Entre 1205 et 1210, Gautier de Montbéliard, exerçant la régence, était nécessairement à la tête de la chancellerie qui semble une continuation de celle des prédécesseurs grecs, comme suggère l'emploi fréquent de bulles de plomb. D'autres langues furent ajoutées: le latin et le français; d'autres scribes furent employés, peut-être Robert lui-même? L'accès aux sources et aux traditions, grecques et syriaques, devient plus facile pour ceux fréquentant la cour. Le 'personnel diplomatique', pour citer M. Gallais, était là pour renseigner les Occidentaux curieux de connaître le monde oriental.³³

Reste la question de savoir quelles étaient les sources utilisées par Robert de Boron qui, comme nous croyons, a séjourné en Orient, en Chypre où il a écrit son *Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*. Des traditions orales? Des sources écrites, grecques ou syriaques, traduites ou commentées? Des livres liturgiques ou la Liturgie elle-même? Une combinaison de sources, comme il est fort probable? Car les Occidentaux, surtout les 'officiels', ont dû assister aux services grecs et syriaques aux jours des Grandes Fêtes de l'Eglise. Robert parle du *grant livre ... / ou les estoires sunt escrites, / par les granz clers faites et dites* (vv. 932-4). Ailleurs il parle des histoires qu'on a écoutées: *S'il n'a avant oï conter / DOU GRAAL la plus grant ESTOIRE* (vv. 3486-7). Voilà l'emploi de plusieurs sources.

Dès le XII^e siècle, il y eut un certain intérêt à la Liturgie de l'Eglise byzantine, résultant en plusieurs traductions.³⁴ L'Ouest commença à s'intéresser aux disputes théologiques ayant lieu à Constantinople, y envoyant des délégations de temps en temps. Une de ces disputes portait sur l'Eucharistie. Saint Néophyte, moine grec et fondateur du monastère près de Paphos, mort vers 1215, y prit part et publia son point de vue.³⁵ Un Occidental pouvait bien se renseigner sur les questions théologiques sans quitter Chypre. Dans la vie religieuse grecque et syriaque où l'Eucharistie jouait un rôle primordial, un intéressé pouvait trouver son inspiration pour une histoire du Graal. Car le mystère du Graal, c'est le mystère de la Liturgie, la consécration du pain et du vin, surtout dans la Liturgie

de la Semaine Sainte. La Liturgie se célébrait dans des sanctuaires dont les murs étaient recouverts de peintures représentant la Vie du Christ, de la Vierge et des saints de l'Eglise. La scène de Joseph, déplorant la mort du Christ, et descendant le corps de la croix, était connue en Chypre, entre autres dans le monastère de Néophyte, fondé peu avant l'arrivée des Latins. Là saint Néophyte prend même la place de Joseph d'Arimathie. Là nous trouvons aussi Pilate se lavant les mains, la Crucifixion et la Descente aux Limbes, scènes décrites par Robert de Boron. Avant la fin du siècle le monastère était devenu un lieu de pèlerinage si populaire que le saint dut se retirer dans une grotte, dans les environs.³⁶ Parmi les nombreux pèlerins il doit y avoir eu des Latins, le château de Paphos étant aux mains des Latins et le port accueillant des navires d'Occident (Megaw 1972).

Il est à noter que le repas du Christ avec ses disciples comme Robert de Boron le raconte est une combinaison du repas chez Simon et la Dernière Cène, la trahison ayant lieu dans la maison de Simon, à Béthanie où eut lieu aussi l'onction par Marie-Madeleine (Luc 7, 36-50). Le texte devient un peu confus puisque Robert y situe aussi le Lavement des pieds des disciples par le Christ (Jean 13, 1-11). Cette combinaison — ou faut-il parler d'un dédoublement? — nous met devant un problème. Robert de Boron a dû connaître l'histoire biblique. Il a dû savoir que la trahison n'a pas eu lieu dans la maison de Simon, ni la Dernière Cène d'ailleurs. A-t-il trouvé trop délicat de parler en détail du Dernier Repas du Christ avec ses disciples? Le repas chez Simon avec la présence de Marie-Madeleine était moins connu. Dans l'iconographie des églises orientales on ne le retrouve représenté que rarement. Les exemples se rencontrent dans la tradition manuscrite byzantine, ayant des ramifications dans l'enluminure syriaque. Faisons remarquer que sur la table se trouve alors un grand plat avec un poisson. Faut-il chercher ici l'inspiration pour le Roi Pêcheur?³⁷ Il faut peut-être chercher ailleurs pour expliquer la présence du Christ dans la maison de Simon, à deux reprises, dans le *Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*. Bien que l'existence d'un théâtre religieux à Byzance ait été niée, il existe un manuscrit du milieu du XIII^e siècle et originaire de Chypre où on trouve le scénario d'une *Passion* du Christ. A. Vogt, un des éditeurs, l'a fait remonter au XII^e siècle, tandis que M. Mahr, qui en a fait une reconstitution, l'attribue au scribe du manuscrit, le moine chypriote Constantin Eutelès (Vat. Palat. gr. 367, fol. 34-39). C'est dans cette *Passion* que nous trouvons encore la combinaison du repas chez Simon, l'action de Marie-Madeleine et le lavement des pieds des disciples par le Christ juste avant la trahison. Ce n'est pas la Sainte Cène qui est représentée sur la 'scène', passage trop délicat pour la piété byzantine. Autre fait remarquable: Joseph et Nicodème vont chanter le *Trisagion* pendant qu'ils mettent le Christ au tombeau. Apparemment c'était là un élément bien connu en Chypre où l'influence syriaque n'était pas à négliger et où on a pu absorber bien des éléments syriens, même dans les milieux orthodoxes. On trouve l'indication que sur le *titulus* (le panneau sur la croix) le texte doit être écrit en grec, en latin et en syriaque. Voilà l'occupation latine de

32 Voir aussi Lagorio 1975, 56; O'Gorman 1964, 35-42.

33 Schlumberger 1943, 143s.; Gallais 1970, 319; cf. La Monte 1929, 444s.

34 Strittmatter 1943; Dondaine 1952; Jacob 1967.

35 Jugie 1949; pour sa fondation religieuse Cormack 1985, 215-51, où l'ill. 98 donne la Descente de la Croix. Une partie de son oeuvre a été publiée seulement (cf. Beck 1959, 633).

36 Mango-Hawkins 1966, avec ill.; pour Joseph, p. 151, et ill. 35; Stylianou 1985, 355s., ill. nos. 277, 278. Cf. Tsiknopoulos 1967, 405.

37 Vogt 1931, 48; Mahr 1947, 110, n. 41; Leroy 1964, planches 91, 106.

Chypre, et l'origine chypriote de la *Passion*! Je doute que nous ayons affaire à une *Passion* commandée par les Lusignans. C'est plutôt une *Passion* grecque (ayant un passé syriaque?) qui se jouait en Chypre dans les monastères devant un public de dévots pèlerins. Robert de Boron pourrait bien l'avoir vue au début du XIII^e siècle, à Nicosie, à Koutsoveni, à Paphos ou ailleurs. Tant que nous n'avons pas le texte complet de la *Passion*, il est difficile de se prononcer trop catégoriquement sur les relations entre ce texte et l'ouvrage de Robert de Boron.³⁸

La date et le lieu de composition de cet ouvrage sont moins mystérieux si nous le situons dans un contexte chypriote. C'est la période allant de 1201 à 1210 qui est alors suggérée, où Gautier de Montbéliard était 'en paix'. On pourrait rétrécir quelque peu cette période en mettant de côté la régence, où sans doute Gautier était très occupé et devait organiser quelques expéditions militaires. Mais nous ne voulons pas y insister. En Chypre les traditions apocryphes étaient vivantes. La vie religieuse y pouvait inspirer un auteur cherchant à percer le mystère de la Passion et, plus tard, de la mission chrétienne. Dans le monde oriental le rôle de Joseph d'Arimathie était considérable, ce qui ne pouvait passer inaperçu à un visiteur occidental.

Plus tard, ayant fui en Syrie (à Saint Jean d'Acre) Gautier de Montbéliard (accompagné de Robert de Boron?), cherchant refuge chez Jean de Brienne, vivait encore dans un milieu de croisés, portant toutes sortes de titres féodaux: les princes d'Antioche et de Tripoli, les comtes et les barons des petites principautés en Terre Sainte. En 1217 se réunirent à Acre et à Tripoli deux rois (Jean de Brienne et Hugues de Lusignan), avec leurs suites, pour célébrer le mariage de la sœur d'Hugues de Lusignan avec Bohémond IV d'Antioche. Est-ce une référence à une telle occasion: *a icel tens que je vous conte/et roi et prince et duc et conte* (vv. 11-2)? Dans un milieu de croisés on pouvait bien réciter l'histoire du Graal, faisant mention d'un seigneur tombé en disgrâce à une époque passée, ou Hugues étant mort. Quelques mois après les participants de la Cinquième Croisade se réunirent à Acre. Il y avait plus d'une occasion de réciter devant un public d'Occidentaux zélés l'histoire du Graal et la Passion du Christ.³⁹

L'ouvrage de Robert de Boron est imprégné d'éléments orientaux et d'éléments apocryphes. Sur un fonds grec byzantin on trouve des échos et des accents syriaques, nous amenant en Outremer latin, probablement en Chypre, terre byzantine dominée par les Latins où l'élément syrien n'était pas à négliger.

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38 Vogt 1931, 35-74 (spéc. 53, 67; introd., texte grec, trad. franç.); Mahr 1947, texte grec et trad. angl.; Beck 1971, 112-3; Hunger 1978, 145-6; Darrouzès 1957, 137, no. 16, mentionne un manuscrit 'contenant un récit des souffrances du Christ'.
39 Prawer 1975, II, 134s. (octobre 1217); Iorga 1931, 88.

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A WITNESS OF THE D-VERSION OF THEODORUS STUDITA'S
ENCOMIUM ON ST BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE: MS BRUSSELS,
ROYAL LIBRARY 10615-729, FOL. 162rb-163ra

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According to the prevalent opinion, MS 10615-729 in the Royal Library in Brussels (parchment, 233 ff., 2 cols.) dates from about the middle or the second half of the twelfth century and comes from the abbey of St Eucharius-Matthias at Trier; it was subsequently in the possession of Nicolas Cusanus (1401-1464), of the *Hospitale s. Nicolai* in Kues founded by Cusanus (until the beginning of the seventeenth century), and of the Bollandists (until 1773, which explains the early signature it received in the Royal Library, Bolland. 102a). It is a composite manuscript with very precious contents, a substantial and richly varied collection of classical and medieval Latin writings in prose and verse, which was subsequently expanded by additions on the originally blank (parts of) pages and possibly also by the addition of some leaves. The contents of certain parts of the manuscript have been described in detail by scholars investigating the texts contained in those parts. Yet, although since 1839 several descriptions of the entire manuscript have appeared, a complete inventory is still not available.¹ Thus, the quire formed by ff. 157-164 turns out to contain more than has been indicated even by the most complete descriptions.

After the first book of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* (Mynors [1937, xli and xlvif.] used the Brussels MS for his edition, in which it received the siglum b²) there are two more texts, the presence of which has so far remained unnoticed. The text of the *Institutiones* ends on line 7 of the right hand column on f. 162r (162rb7). After a blank line, the scribe continues with the next text, without any rubric, but marking the first word by writing it in capitals, and leaving space for an initial letter (which was not filled in): EATI bartholomei apostoli uenerabile omniumque laudum sollempni attollendum corpus preconio, qualiter ... This text

1 Cf. Engels 1980, 11-8 and 167, and Engels 1989, 153f.

unit ends on f. 163ra50-52 with the words: *Sicque ter in anno eius sacratissima digne celebratur festiuitas, regnante domino nostro iesu christo ... et in secula seculorum amen*. This is a description of the translation of the bones of the Apostle Bartholomew from Armenia to the Island of Lipari, and from there to Benevento. The nucleus of the story is formed by a Latin version of the encomium on Bartholomew, in which Theodorus Studita (759-826) described the translation from Armenia to Lipari (*oratio* 10).² The sermon is provided with an introduction and a description of the translation to Benevento has been added. The end of this text is marked *EXPLICIT* across the full width of line 53. From f. 163ra54 the same hand continues: *Ex dictis sancti laurentii de duobus temporibus. Set dicis: Ecce compunctus orauit ...*; this time the end of the text is emphasised in capitals: *... huic dicitur sine dubio: Qui perseuerauerit usque in finem hic SALVVS ERIT* (f. 163rb22f.). This is the final part of the *Homilia de paenitentia* by Bishop Laurentius of Novara (fifth century).³ The rest of this quire (f. 163rb24-164v) is empty.

I shall here characterize the narrative concerning Bartholomew which survives on ff. 162rb9-163ra53, place it in its text-historical context, examine the place of the Brussels witness in the history of textual transmission, and present an edition of the text which reflects the current state of research.

After the bones of the apostle Bartholomew had been brought from Armenia to the Island of Lipari in the sixth century, the advent of the Saracens occasioned a second transfer in 838, this time to Benevento, where his mortal remains were reinterred on 25 October 839.⁴ This event stimulated the veneration of Bartholomew in the West and led to a revival of Latin hagiography concerning this apostle, which had been fairly modest until then. The relevant developments in his hagiographical dossier can be summarised, on the basis of the thorough research by Ulla Westerbergh,⁵ as follows. Shortly after 839, the story of the translation from Lipari to Benevento and of the miracles which occurred in Benevento on that occasion was put into writing. The original of this *Translatio corporis sancti Bartholomei apostoli Beneventum et miracula* was apparently lost, sometime after other hagiographical documents had become available in Benevento;

2 BHG 230, in Westerbergh 1963, 41-8. For Theodorus Studita cf. Ammann 1946; Baus 1965; Beck 1959; Congourdeau 1990.

3 Cf. Dekkers-Gaar 1961, nr. 644; edition: *PL* 66, 89-105 (our fragment 104A-105B).

4 Cf. Spadafora-Casanova-Rigoli 1963; Lechner 1973; Zender 1980. For a third translation of the relics (to Rome, in 983, by Otto III, praised in verse in BHL 1012) see Prete 1982.

5 Westerbergh (1963) offers editions of the *Translatio corporis sancti Bartholomei apostoli in Gallias* (2-8: BHL 1009), the *Translatio corporis sancti Bartholomei apostoli Beneventum et miracula* (10-7: BHL 1010, with on pp. 10 and 13 the introductory and closing sentences respectively of BHL 1007), the *Epistola Anastasii Bibliothecarii Aioni episcopo Beneventano scripta* (19-20: BHL 1003t), the *Sermo Theodori Studitae de sancto Bartholomeo apostolo Latine versus* (24-38: BHL 1005, preceded on p. 23 by BHL 1003z), and (as was mentioned in note 2) the Greek original. The various adaptations of BHL 1010 and 1005, i.e. BHL 1007 and 1004 respectively, are made available for further research through the extensive critical apparatus (see also 202-5).

the oldest remaining versions remained current particularly in Gaul⁶ (BHL 1010, MS Ac and the classes R and G), and occasionally in Italy (BHL 1011, MS-class H). At the request of bishop Aio, Anastasius Bibliothecarius (811/12-c. 879)⁷ made a Latin version of Theodorus Studita's encomium for the sake of prompting the veneration of the saint in Benevento. The success of this version greatly influenced its further textual history. It was soon adapted to the needs of the liturgy, and as far as is known, the original text has only survived because a copy found its way to Gaul. The dedicatory letter (BHL 1003t, MS-classes A and R) was adapted to form a prologue (BHL 1003z), containing the information about Theodorus Studita provided by Anastasius; the Latin version of the encomium (BHL 1005, MS-class A) was slightly revised (BHL 1004, revised version), and the process was rounded off by a revision of the old *translatio*, from which among other things the enumeration of miracles was removed, and in which the two other festivals (the *dormitio* and the *translatio* to Lipari) were added to the *depositio* in Benevento (BHL 1007). In this way the parts played by Anastasius and bishop Aio were buried in oblivion. But the prologue and the transition to the third part (23.7-22 and 10.1-3)⁸ are the reason that Theodorus' *oratio* 10 was not received anonymously in the West, with the result that he is actually named as a source in the *Legenda aurea*, 123 (118), and in the *Nota de genere passionis* (BHL 1014). This corpus (BHL 1003z, 1004 and 1007), of which manuscript-class D offers the oldest version available to us, subsequently found its way into Italy and Northern Gaul, repeatedly undergoing further changes which can be encountered in the manuscripts or MS-classes C, E, H, L, M, N (in which the text of the third part, the transfer to Benevento, is a contamination of BHL 1007 and 1010) and R (also with a contaminated text).⁹ After some time, the dossier in Benevento, where all three festivals in honour of St. Bartholomew were celebrated, was divided into two parts again, so that the *passio* (BHL 1002, followed by a new, abbreviated reference to the other festivals: BHL 1003) was used on the anniversary of his death, the revised version of Theodorus' encomium (BHL 1003z and 1004) on the anniversary of the first translation, and the revised version of the transfer to Benevento as well as a sermon of the monk Martinus (BHL 1007 and 1008) on the anniversary of the second translation. This situation is represented in all the manuscripts which derive from Benevento (including MS B; cf. Westerbergh 1963, 134f.).

Our Brussels manuscript successively offers the prologue (BHL 1003z, f. 162rb9-25), the revised Latin version of Theodorus' encomium (BHL 1004, f. 162rb 26-163ra14), and the story of the translation to Benevento, without the miracles, but

6 The eye-witness account of the bishop of Narbonne — who was named after the apostle and who had brought relics of the latter to his diocese in France — was written down by a cleric from Lyon in Gaul (BHL 1009, MS. Ac and the MSS.-classes R and G).

7 Cf. Manitius 1911, 678-89; Westerbergh 1963, 50f., 64f. and 148ff.; Wolter 1978.

8 The text is referred to by means of the numbers of page and line in the edition by Westerbergh (1963), which have also been maintained in the edition of Dh following.

9 Cf. Westerbergh 1963, 113 and 131f. (for MS. N), and 67-71 and 119-29 (for the R-MSS.).

with a summary of the commemorations at the end (BHL 1007, f. 163ra14-51). A study of the variants listed by Westerbergh (see note 5)¹⁰ shows that this text belongs to class D, so that this eighth witness of the D-text can be indicated by means of the siglum Dh, following the system introduced by Westerbergh.¹¹ Variants which are characteristic for text-class D alone are very rare in Dh, just as in the other D manuscripts (12.18 where class D offers *denique* and C *itaque*, while all the other classes have *autem*). This agrees with the position of D in the history of textual transmission: most D-MSS. represent hyparchetypes of (groups of) manuscripts derived from D, Da for L, Db for M, Dc for C, Df for MS E, and Dg for H (cf. Westerbergh 1963, 52). On the other hand, it is only rarely that one encounters variants in Dh which do not occur in other D manuscripts. The most remarkable ones are 26.30 *precones* as against *pretiores* (*preliatores* before correction Da) in the other D manuscripts, 28.11 *carnificibus* for *carnibus* in all other witnesses of D, 28.22 *dirigit* Dh, *depingeat* Da and *depinget* all other D manuscripts, 30.9 *ambulare* Dh, where DaDfDg offer *uadere*, DbDc *euadere*, and DdDe *gradi*, and 12.17 *sanauit* Dh (with Gb) as against *saluauit* in the remaining D-MSS. The variants mentioned appear to me to stem from the pen of the scribe rather than from his exemplar, since Dh contains many lapsus. Some appear to be also due to the quality of the exemplar.¹² But in other matters, too, the scribe is inclined to be inaccurate, as in his changes to the word order, small omissions and additions, anticipations and perseverations, and inaccuracies caused by rapid interpretative reading. The above-mentioned variants resemble those which have been corrected by the scribe or one of the correctors, such as in 30.16 *siccare* for *secare* and 36.10 *operaturus* for *operetur*, or lapsus which have escaped their attention, such as *renumerare* for *remunerare* 32.1s., *magistrorum* for *mire gestorum* 36.13 and *periturae* for *peritae* 36.21.

I cannot exactly determine the position of Dh in class D. Dh offers none of the variants which Westerbergh considers to be characteristic for the various D MSS (cf. Westerbergh 1963, 82-6, 89 and 91). It shares only few variants with any single D MS, such as with Df 23.19 *omnem*, 26.11 *patriam*, 32.2 the omission of *et*, and 34.13 *te illuminare*, with Db 28.21 *perceptum* and 30.24 *cognicionem*, with De 34.13 *personabor* and 36.20 *potacio*, with Da 36.26s. the omission of *gloriose*, and with Dg 36.1 the addition of *omnibus* (in accordance with the reading in the Vulgate). The relative frequency of agreements between Dh and Df is striking, but we must also admit that this brief survey includes almost all D MSS, and that besides these agreements there are just as many divergencies between Dh and these MSS documented in the critical apparatus.¹³ Where combinations of two

MSS (DbDf, for instance) offer the same text as Dh, this reading usually agrees with that of one or more further D MSS. If one looks at the exceptions to this rule, i.e. the readings for which only two MSS agree with Dh, combinations of nearly all D manuscripts occur.¹⁴ Where Dc and Dd show similarities with Dh, other D MSS, too, offer the variant from Dh.¹⁵ There is therefore no exclusive relation between Dh and any of the other D MSS (and therefore not between Dh and one of the classes of MSS which derive from D). It is clear, however, that of the D MSS presently known, Df shows most affinity to Dh, and Dc and Dd least.

Df is an eleventh-century manuscript of unknown origin, which in the fifteenth century was in the possession of Archbishop Francesco Pizzolpasso of Milan (*ob.* 1443); this prelate bequeathed it to the cathedral of Milan (cf. Westerbergh 1963, 88). Pizzolpasso is known to have borrowed manuscripts from Cusanus, including our Brussels MS, from which he had the texts of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* and of *De gubernatione Dei* by Salvianus of Marseille copied.¹⁶ But the existence of some affinity between Df and Dh is hardly an argument that Df must also derive from Northern France or Belgium and that the MS reached its current location through Cusanus and Pizzolpasso. Such a bold hypothesis is not at all necessary to explain the appearance of a twelfth-century witness of the D-version of Theodorus Studita's encomium from the Lorraine area. As early as the middle of the eleventh century, an ancestor of MS Da reached Rome from Reims (cf. Westerbergh 1963, 81f.), and not later than the eleventh century version L developed in Northern France or Belgium on the basis of type Da. The text of L was copied into manuscripts La and Lb in Saint-Laurent at Liège in the twelfth century, after it had already contributed to the creation of the contaminated R version in Reims (cf. Westerbergh, 114-9 and 126-9). The time and the area from which Dh stems are therefore not strange, but the fact that the text obtained a place in our composite MS is.¹⁷

The edition of the text surviving in Dh which follows here has the purpose, *inter alia* of making the D-version of this revised Bartholomew-dossier more readily available. On the one hand, the text of the major part of the derived versions has to be reconstructed from the critical apparatus in the edition of Westerbergh; Westerbergh intended to analyse the developments of the texts under consideration in order to infer the original version from the great number of versions and was therefore primarily concerned to edit the original version (see note 6).

10 All variants noted here from other manuscripts than Brussels MS. 10615-729 depend on Westerbergh's critical apparatus.

11 The other seven D manuscripts, Da to Dg, are described by Westerbergh 1963, 81-91. Dd and De break off after ... *fido relatu explicuit* (10.3) and De also lacks *poterit sine* (26.25) ... *plantantem* (30.4s.); Dg has survived only (and even then hardly legibly) for 34.27-36.4, 36.10-12.14 and 13.1-8.

12 The scribe's difficulties with abbreviations (24.20, 32.20, 36.13, 36.21, 10.4) and with word-division (36.14, 10.5, 12.19) suggest that the exemplar was hard to read.

13 See ad 24.8, 26.15, 26.24, 30.8, 34.5, 36.10, 36.19, 36.20, 38.22, 10.13.

14 See the critical apparatus ad 23.5, 26.23, 28.11, 30.28, 34.5 and 36.19.

15 Dc does offer the same reading after correction as Dh (34.13 and 12.17); just as Db does once before correction (26.22).

16 Cf. Mynors 1937, xliii (MS. Milano Ambros. D 35 Sup. as a copy of the *Institutiones*-MS. b²).

17 I intend to return to this problem on the basis of the research which is mentioned in my earlier publication (Engels 1989). The hagiographical texts in the MS (see for a first inventory *Catalogus* 1888, 394-6, nr. 169) may contain clues for the environment in which the MS originated or was expanded. In copying the corpus in Dh the reference *ut premissum est* 13.2 was maintained, although it had become pointless since the text which it refers to (probably the *Passio* BHL 1002) was not copied. The reference was eliminated during the rearrangement of the corpus in Beneventum (see above), among others in MS. B.

Moreover, the order in which the texts under consideration appear in her study differs from that in which they usually occur in the dossiers in the MSS after revision. All this makes it difficult to obtain a clear picture of the derived versions as a coherent whole. On the other hand, the edition published by the Bollandist Johannes Stillingus (Jan Stillingh, 1703-1762) in 1741 in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Aug. tom. V, 39-43) offers the constitutive parts of the dossier in the right order, although his text is not based on Dh (although the MS, as we have seen, was then in the possession of the Bollandists) but on the evidence of textual stages preceding D (MS Ad) or following it (MS N and a MS of class M; cf. Westerbergh 1963, 95 and 110f.). Here, too, the D version was not published.

In the following edition of Dh, the text has been stripped of the individual errors of the scribe (or his exemplar) with the aid of the critical apparatus of the Westerbergh edition (see note 6). I am therefore not offering a critical edition of the D version, but a text of one witness of the D version which has been cleared of textual corruptions by the means described. Where Dh is supported by at least one other D MS, the reading of Dh is respected. But this may not be taken to suggest that the reading concerned is the original D reading; it may also represent common corruption (whether or not incidental).

The spelling of Dh has been maintained (such as *his* for *is* in 24.22, 28.18 and 32.27, and *quod* for *quot* in 36.9), although the *e caudata* has been represented as *ae* or *oe*. The spelling of non-abbreviated word forms has been respected in the resolution of abbreviations. The punctuation has been modified where absolutely necessary; the same is true for the use of capitals.

The critical apparatus in the first place documents the scribal corrections and corrections by other hands in Dh. In addition it indicates where lapsus appear to have escaped the attention of the scribes and correctors. Where all the other D MSS agree with each other, their reading has been incorporated into the text. In the obvious cases the critical apparatus only mentions the reading from Dh; where necessary the apparatus gives information about readings in other D MSS on the basis of Westerbergh's apparatus (Dcett. indicates the consensus of all D MSS which are not noted with their own siglum, and the spelling of the edition has been retained). Selectivity has been practised in so far as I have unburdened the apparatus of minor variants from individual D MSS. MSS from other versions are mentioned occasionally, where they contain readings identical to those of Dh.

To simplify verification and the addition of data concerning the textual history, the line and page-numbers as well as the lay-out of the lines of the Westerbergh edition are here indicated or maintained.¹⁸ For the identification of Biblical citations the reader is also referred to Westerbergh.

As was mentioned before, one rubric is missing from Dh. Seeing that the other D MSS contain widely divergent rubrics, the present edition is printed without rubrics altogether.

18 The occasional overflow of syllables has been accepted as inevitable. Where lines are substantially shorter or longer, that is the result of differences between the versions concerned, except in 10.5-15, where Westerbergh has edited two parallel versions.

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(BHL 1003z, Dh f.162rb9)

- 23.1 Beati^a Bartholomei apostoli uenerabile omniumque
laudum sollempni attollendum corpus preconio, qualiter de Armenia
Indorum prouincia post decessum Polimii regis atque pontificis
aliquot elabentibus annis per iniquorum atque infidelium per-
fidiam, immo diuinae dispositionis^b nutu Lipareos mirabiliter sit
5 euectum in insulam - unde hodierna sollempnitas celebratur -
cuiusdam Theodori reuerentissimi^c sacerdotis ueridica est relacione
reseratum. Qui uidelicet Theodorus apud Constantinopolitanam
urbem temporibus fuit Adriani et Leonis Romanorum pontificum,
10 uir valde mirabilis. Qui dum non solum sciencia set et signorum
polleret uirtutibus, duum imperialium insigniumque coenobiorum,
Studii uidelicet et Saccudiorum, constitutus est abba. Qui semper in
apostolicae sedis communione persistens, haereticorum nenias et
imperatorum uesaniem, etiam tormentis affectus mentis uirtute
15 repressit, necnon et sancti Spiritus gratia plenus, opuscula nonnulla
composuit. Inter que et sermonem de beato Bartholomeo satis
utilem Greco edidit famine, qui Greco uocabulo ecommion
dicitur, quod Latine preconium siue laus exprimitur. Qui ad latini-
tatis noticiam fideliter translatus, ut scrupulum omnem^d de nutancium
20 pectoribus auferat, et improbas inuidorum ac detrahencium linguas
comprimat, atque ignoranciam instruat insciorum, consequenter
legendus^e est. Habet enim se huiuscemodi narratio illius.

(BHL 1004, Dh f. 162rb26)

- 24.1 Maximum quidem certamen, et ut addam gloria est, qua sanc-
torum laus contexitur, set maiori deuocione martyr quisque debetur^f
attolli, in cuius beatificatione omnis sermo non sufficit. At uero et
apostolum inreprehensibiliter conlaudare, quantae putas esse
5 poterit etiam insignium magistrorum industriae? Scilicet quem^g
spiritus ad contemplacionem plausibus et modulatis uocibus extulit.
Cuius enim sonus in omnem terram exiuit ut uerborum uirtute fines
ordinaret orbis, oportebat^h utique ut etⁱ laus eius ex equo audiatur,
et intellectu percipiatur. Et ad haec quis idoneus, quis sufficiens,
10 quis robustus? Numquidnam quia nec Petrus nec Iohannes est
diuinus Bartholomeus, idcirco paucioribus est sermonibus pre-

a EATI Dh
b dispositionis DhDbDcDf, dispensationis Dcett.
c reuerentissimi (ex reuerens-) Theodori Dh
d omnem DhDf, omne Dcett
e consequenter legendus ex consequens eis m.corr. Dh
f debetur DhDaDbDcDd, debet Dcett.
g quo Dh, quem Dcett.
h oportebat DhDaDcDdDe, oportet Db, oportebit Df.
i et ut Dh (et supra lin. supplev. m¹), ut et Dcett.

- dicandus, et, quasi non sit multi preconii, minus aliquid efferendus?
Discipulum Christi audis ex toto, et non pertimescis eum qui misit
illum? Testem ueritatis sensu capis, et non miraris eum qui est
15 digne canendus?^a Quin etsi multorum unus erat, nulli tamen famu-
lorum dei minori^b laude promendus est^c. An quia est diuini duodena-
rii numeri medius? Est enim hic^d duodenarius numerus in se, sicut
in cytharae armonia, similis, aequum et ab utraque parte sonum
diuinae sermocinacionis similem dans^e. At uero, si uolueris, sicut in
20 annuali^f circulo ut^g uniuscuiusque mensis ex equo utilis omnimodis
conferatur numerus^h et propria alter alterius quantitate et
qualitate suam habeat differenciam, non plane nobis his qui
laudatur exiguus, set et nimis sublimis uirtute spiritus apparebit,
habens quid in ipsa supputacione mysticum dei uerborum secundum
25 arithmeticae artem. Solus enim senarius numerus a monade perfectus
est partibus suis; complens ex his ipsis medietatem quidem suam
26.1 quaeⁱ est tria, terciam uero partem suam perficit ex duobus, sextam
autem monade consumans.
Porro si et secun-
dum Actus apostolorum dinumerauerimus, septimum ponemus
5 Bartholomeum^j, eritque ipse iterum principium et uertex secundae
exados, ita ut hinc possimus^k argumentari eum ad Petrum habere
relacionem, dum ex prima quidem exade principium reputatur in
termino, ex secunda uero quia summitas est eorum qui post ipsam
dinumerantur.
10 Nota, dilectissime, Petrus docet naciones, set et Bartholomeus
consequenter patriam^l inuestigat. Petri speciosi pedes bona euangeli-
zantis, set et Bartholomei^m eque iocundi sublimia de deo loquentis.
Petrus operatur prodigia magna, set et Bartholomeus facit miracula
ualida. Petrus deorsum capite crucifigiturⁿ, set et Bartholomeus e
15 diuerso poenas sustinens, postquam uiuens decoriatus^o est^p, capite
[plectitur. Quotquot Petrus agit,

a qui misit illum testem sensum ueritatis. Sensum queris et non miraris eum qui est digne
canendus est Dh
b minori DhDbDcDf, minore Dcett.
c laude promendus est Dh, est laude promendus Df, laude promendus Dcett.
d Est enim hic DhDcDdDe, Est enim est hic Dcett.
e dant Dh
f anni Dh, annuali Dcett.
g et Dh, ut Dcett.
h numerus ex numeri Dh
i s (sunt?) ante est expunct. Dh
j barthomeum Dh
k possumus Dh, possim Db, possumus Dcett.
l patriam DhDf, patria sed t erasa Ca, paria Dcett.
m bartholomei ex bartholomeus Dh
n plectitur Dh (vide 26.15), crucifigitur Dcett.
o decuriatus Dh
p postquam...est hoc loco DhDa(excoriatus)DcDdDe, ante e diuerso Df, om. Db

- totidem operatur Bartholomeus. Ad quot^a ualet Petrus misteria capescenda, ad tot Bartholomeus sufficit penetranda. Equaliter exequitur diuini uerbi rationem, aequaliter fundat ecclesiam, aequa lance habuit et cetera diuina carismata.
- 20 Veni ergo placatus, esto ferax uerbi, o beate, resera linguam meam mutam, da mihi materiam preconia tuae magnitudinis enarrandi, non ut ipse proficias aliquid habens intrinsecus beatitudinum^b plenitudinem, set ut quomodo^c declaretur amor circa te diuinitus predestinatus, et ut^d ego pauperrimus puer tuus paternis oracionibus fruatur in laude caelebritatis tuae. Non enim poterit sine participatione illuminationis manere, qui ad splendorem radii solis pupillas erexerit.
- 25 Alius igitur apostolorum hic, alius uero alibi percepit partem orbis, in predicatione Dei cognicionis, et omnes uniuersitatem sibi dispercientes, pretores^e regis regum Christi constituti sunt. Constitues enim eos principes super omnem terram, littera prenunciauit.
- 30 Ei autem qui nunc celebri fama laudatur, sors et porcio Armeniae, locus qui est ab Euilath usque^f Gabaoth, in multis gentibus et ciuitatibus distributus. Iste ergo cum miteretur haec mystice pronunciare^g, ut opinor, audiuit a Domino: Vade discipule ad predicationem, exi ad pugnam, capax^h esto periculorum. Consulo figmento meo, cuius misertus homo factus sum et pro quo dedecus mortis aelegi. Ego paternum opus consumaui, primus testis ueritatisⁱ factus. Vos quod necessarium est implete, et que uerbis meis desunt ad similitudinem meam supplete. Imitare magistrum tuum, emulare
- 10 Dominum tuum, equa passiones, sanguinibus^j sanguinem pone^k, carnibus carnem^l trade, patere queque sustinui pro te passus. Ostende in te ipso manifestas cogniciones characteris mei. Arma tibi sit benignitas in sudoribus, mansuetudo inter maledicos, paciencia in his qui peremerint^m. Vt ouis in medio luporumⁿ efficere, ut
- 15 armatus fortitudine acuere. Non resultauit apostolus, non dixit:

a quod Dh
b beatitudinum ex beatitudine (uel beatitudinem ?) m. corr. Dh; cf. beatitudinum ex beatitudinem Db
c quomodo DhDcDf, quoquo modo Dcett.
d et ut DhDbDcDdDe, ut et Da, ita et Df
e precones Dh, pretores (preliatores ante corr. m. rec. Da) Dcett.
f usque ad DhAdAc, usque Dcett.
g prenunciare Dh, pronuntiare Dcett.
h et capax Dh, capax Dcett.
i testis Dh, testis ueritatis Dcett.
j sanguinibus Dh
k oppone Dh, pone Dcett.
l carnificibus carnem Dh, carnibus carnem DaDf, carnibus carnes Dcett.
m perimerint Dh
n luporum ex laborum m¹ D¹.

- Quomodo lupos nancisci^a poterit agnus, unus decem milium, peregrinus primorum ciuium, exul ducum, regum his qui unam possidet tunicam? Set ut famulus fidelis dominico adquiescens precepto, pergit gaudens, nihil deferens secum, nisi tantum Christi nomen preciosum^b pro omni armatura.
- 20 Itaque adprehendens solum sorte perceptum^c, quanta illic gesserit, quanta subiens pertulerit, sermo depinget^d. Quae quidem secundum tradicionem antike relacionis acta, quaedam uero secundum rationem doctrinarum aeuangelicarum gesta consistunt. Si enim lux mundi [est, profecto
- 25 ea quae lucis sunt operatus est, in his qui illuminati non erant. Et si sal terrae consistit, manifestum est, quia gentes inracionabiles^e saliens emundauit. Et si operator nominatur, consequenter et^f agriculturam spiritalem perfecit. Quod autem communiter dicitur^g, et per singulas personas racionabiliter accipiendum est.
- 30 Igitur uide eum secundum allegoriam aliquando quidem non terram arare bobus trahentibus ferrum, set linguae aratro racionabilia rura sulcantem, iugo uidelicet^h contemplacionis et actionis, nec seminantem aliquid defluencium et corruptibilium, set fidei uerbum in profundum cordis recondentem, aliquando uero plantantem paradisos et uineas Domini, illos scilicet qui iam receptione uerbi ad meliora incrementum fecerunt, et ab ineunte etate per singula tempora fructus multiplices ediderunt, et aliquando medicinaliter exhibitum singulis passionum remedia conferentem. Verum si utrumque nosse uelis cecos oculisⁱ inluminantem, leprosos mundantem, febres expellentem, claudis uadere^j, surdisque audire^k prebentem, atque reliquorum languorum multimodas species sanitatibus incorruptibilibus^l naturae propriae restituentem, et certe pastorem morem suscipientem, et semitas^m Deo perficientem, deducentem, reuocantem, procurantem, pugnantem, propellentem bestias here-seon, demonumⁿ phalangas, imperfecta rigare iugiter, manu
- 15 ducere crescentes in aetatem Christi, spinas intelligibiles euellere,

a lupos misceri Dh, lupos (lupus Dd) nancisci Dcett.
b Christi nomen preciosum Dh, pretiosum Christi nomen Df, Christi pretiosum nomen Dcett.
c perceptum DhDb, preceptum Dcett.
d dirigit Dh, depingeat Da, depinget Dcett.
e inracionabiles gentes Dh, gentes irrationabiles Dcett.
f et om. Dh
g dicit Dh, dicitur Dcett.
h uidelicet ex udelicet m¹ Dh
i cecos oculis DhDbDcDdDe, cecis oculos Df, cecos oculos Da
j ambulare Dh, gradi DdDe, uadere (euadere DbDc) Dcett.
k audire DhDaDcDdDeDf, auditum Db
l incorruptibilibus ex incorruptibilibus m¹ Dh
m semitam Dh, semitas Dcett.
n uel ante demonum expunct. Dh

- siluas impietatis secare^a, sepes dogmaticas circumponere, et quicquid eorum deesse constiterit, quae oportuna sunt sequendum, facile peruidere. Ipse autem edificator est, et architectus aedificii ac fabricacionis non manu factae, templorum uidelicet Domini, quae per spiritum et ueritatem construuntur ac perficiuntur in populum acceptabilem, sectatorem bonorum operum.
- Intuere mecum, o homo, ciuitates et habitacula, quae olim^b populus seductus infidelitate possedit nequiter, turrem ponens in Dei cognitionem^c, et aduersariorum insidias facile dimissas, campos florentes^d, uineas condensitate pullulantes, ortos odorem dantes, egrotantes omni languore et omni infirmitate^e sanitati pristinae reformatos^f. Talia sunt ut ita quis dicat prima spolia, et exubiae^g, tanti agonis^h labores. Et haec in fame et siti, in frigore et nuditate, in contumeliis et obprobriis, in carceribus et uinculis, in persecutionibusⁱ et abductionibus, de loco in locum, de ciuitate in ciuitatem, de theatro ad theatrum, in tormentis^j et uerberibus, ad [extremum
- 32.1 in occisione et gladio. Propter que namque oportebat eos remunerare bonis^k magistrum, saluatorem^l medicum, pro his operantur atrocita, conuiciantur, detrahunt, percellunt, torquent, radunt, quid non dicentes, quid non agentes, quid non excogitantes^m, quid non adinuenientes eorum quae ad acriorem afflictionem, et tribulacionis eius augmentum proficere crediderunt. Pape crudelitatem, o feralem insaniam! Quales mercedes curatori obtulerunt, qui uisum, qui auditum receperant, qui aedificati, qui instructi fuerant! Pro honore inhonoranciam, pro benedictione maledictionem, pro muneribus poenas, pro requiescibili uita amarissimam mortem.
- Ferunt enim, quod postquam multa et intollerabilia tormenta subiit, decoratusⁿ ab impiis in morem folliis fuerit, sicque demum a fidelibus sepultus extiterit, ut et hic patronus et post obitum appareat magnus Dei predicator. Non enim uel postquam migravit

a secare ex siccare *m*¹ Dh
b Dei Dh, olim Dcett.
c cognitionem DhDb, cognicione Dcett.
d florentes Dh
e infirmitati Dh, infirmitate Dcett.
f reformans Dh, reformatos Dcett.
g exubiae DhDaDc (*ante corr.*), exubiae DdDe, excubie Dc (*post corr. n. rec.*)Df, exui Db
h agonis DhDaDe, agonis ex agones *m. rec.* Dc, agones Dcett.
i persecucionibus Dh
j tormentis ex tormentibus *m. corr.* Dh
k bonis remunerare Dh, remunerare (remuneraris Dc) bonis Dcett.
l saluatorem DhDf, saluatorem et Dcett.
m quid non excogitantes, quid non agentes Dh
n decoratus Dh

- ex hoc^a mundo neglexit occisores, set ut pastor bonus quantum temporis^b erat, inuitabat miraculis perditos, et prodigiis admitebat auersos. Set bestialem mentem et inhumanum cor nil erat quod conpesceret, nil quod retraheret usque quo in profunda malorum decideret. Quid ergo de cetero^c faciunt? Insaniunt contra sacrum^d illud corpus, furiunt contra diuersas prestantem sanitates iugiter arcam. Respuunt remedium aegroti, orbi manu ducentem se, ceci lucis datorem, naufragi gubernatorem, morte affecti uiuificantem. Et hoc quomodo? Proiciunt in pelagus, tamquam eis tantus apostolus nulla presterit beneficia. Inuidorum etenim uicium huiusmodi est, ut uoluntaria perdicione sua nec aliorum salutem fieri paciantur.^e
- Set his qui per Dauid longe ante clamauit: In mari uiae tuae, et semitae tuae in aquis multis, et uestigia tua non cognoscentur, et hic humidum mare peruium arce constituit. Et Petrus magnus clamante ad eum Christo in mari ambulasse dinoscitur, quod et diuinus Bartholomeus similiter^f arche corpus suum gestanti gradiens contra fluctus exhibuit. O miraculum! O opus magnificum! Mota est enim inpetu archa de regionibus Armeniae, cum quatuor aliorum martirum archis, quae similiter, dum signa operarentur, cum ea fuerant in mare proiectae, et per tantum spacium maris, quatuor his ambulantiibus et precedentibus^g et obsequium quodammodo apostolo facientibus, uenerunt in ultiores partes Siciliae, in insulam que uocatur Lypparis, per reuelacionem sanctissimi Agathonis, qui illic erat episcopus, ostensi^h. Quis audiuit tantum prodigium? Quis didicit tam magnificum opus? Miraculum in miraculo! Lyppari enim, id est pinguescit, quodam modo insula Lipparis, ferens ipsa sibi pinguedinis nomen, et haec forsane ineffabilibus uocibus clamans: Veni ad me pauperulam, thesaure ditissimeⁱ sanctissimi Spiritus. Veni [ad me quae
- 10 sum inhonorabilis, preciosissima margarita. Veni ad me suplicem, qui ab aliis es eiectus iniquissime. Inhabita me, et multipliciter inhabitabor. Salua me, et populosa ero. Nomine tuo fungar, et ubique personabor^j. Si alii te illuminare^k repulerunt, set ego splendorem tuum desidero tristis et mesta. Si alii mensa uiuorum eloquiorum tuorum^l

a hoc *om.* Dh
b temporis quantum Dh
c decreto Dh
d sacrum *om.* *m*¹, *supplev. m. corr.* Dh
e paciuntur Dh, patiantur Dcett.
f similiter *om.* *m*¹, *supplev. in mg. m. corr.* Dh
g precedentibus ex presedentibus *m*¹ Dh
h ostensi DhDbDe, ostensis Da, ostensis Dd, ostensae Df, ordinatus Dc
i dilectissime ex dilectissime *m*¹ Dh, diutissime Dc, ditissime Dcett.
j personabor DhDe, personabor ex personabo *post corr. m. rec.* Dc, personabo Dcett.
k te illuminare DhDf, a te illuminari Dc, te luminare Dcett.
l tuorum eloquiorum Dh

- 15 potiti sunt, set ego reliquiarum tuarum ut catellus micas colligere gestio.
- Ad haec quemadmodum quosdam ministros alium martyrum huc, alium illuc retrorsum relinquens apostolus, Papinum quidem in ciuitatem^a Siciliae Mylas, et Mesinam Lucianum nomine destinauit.
- 20 Reliquos uero duos in Calabritidem terram^b direxit, Gregorium quidem in ciuitatem Columpnam, Acacium^c autem in ciuitatem quae uocatur Chale, quatinus unusquisque in unaquaque^d ciuitate protector esset habitatorum, qui etiam usque hodie splendent suffragiis suis. Ipse preterea ueluti quis rex domus propriae requie
- 25 potitus^e, profectus est^f ad ciuitatem a qua prouocabatur. Susceptus est preclare cum multis candelis, odoribus atque ymnis, cunctis ei obuam qui illic aderant occurrentibus in exultacione. De cetero uero^g non progrediebatur archa. Quidam enim trahebant, illa autem erat immobilis. Resumpsit tamen^h gaudium tristitia et, cum esset in
- 30 multa dementacione populus, obtinuit tandem quod inuenerat:
- 36.1 prope est enim Dominus omnibusⁱ inuocantibus eum. Super duas itaque castas uitulas assumpta, reposita^j est, ubi sacrum^k templum eius protinus est locatum, facto etiam cum consumacione miraculo illo precipuo. Denique cum mons qui Vulcanus uocatur paene con-
- 5 tiguus esset insulae, nocius erat his qui circumquaque morabantur. Tunc recessu inuisibili^l motus est, quasi stadiis septem circa mare suspensus, ita ut usque hodie appareat uidentibus quasi figuracio tractus fugientis ignis.
- Porro quod et quanta deinceps mirabiliter operatus sit, aut mira
- 10 faciens actenus operetur^m circaⁿ eos qui a diuersis languoribus et infirmitatibus obstricti ad ipsum fide confugiunt, nec nostrum est dicere, ob prolixitatem tractatus, nec incredibile audienti, cum pignus ex uno habeat aliorum exhibiciones mire gestorum^o.
- Set aue o beate beatorum, ter beate Bartholomeae. Aue qui es^p
- 15 dei imitator, boni scilicet magistri. Aue qui es diuinae lucis splen-

a ciuitate Dh, ciuitatem Dcett.
b terram om. Dh
c acacium ex acium m. corr. Dh
d in Dh, in unaquaque Dcett.
e potitus Dh, requie potitus Dcett.
f profectus Dh, profectus est Dcett.
g de cetero uero DhDbDcDf, de cetero Dcett.
h resumpsit Dh, resumpsit tamen Dcett.
i dominus omnibus (ex omnibus dominus omnibus m. corr. Dh) DhDg, omnibus Dcett.
j resupta Dh
k sacrum Dh, ubi sacrum Dcett.
l in recessu inuisibili Dh, recessu inuisibili Dcett.
m operetur (ex operaturus m. corr.) actenus Dh, hactenus operetur (operatur DfDg) Dcett.
n a ante circa (vide a diuersis) expunct. Dh
o exhibicione magistrorum Dh, exhibitiones mire gestorum Dcett.
p qui es ex quies Dh

- dor sanctae ecclesiae. Aue qui es bene sonans organum spiritus melodiae. Aue qui es multi chori et dulcis fructus palmes Christo uiuide et paternae culturae uitis. Aue digni meriti famule domini uniuersorum. Aue merito desiderabilis amice superni caelestis sponsi^a. Aue qui es sapienciae fluentis et multiplicis potacio^b, lumen spiritualis paradisi. Aue qui es peritae capturae piscator^c rationabilium piscium. Aue qui es diuina uirtute uulnerator diaboli, mundum suo latrocinio uulnerantis. Aue artificiose rector^d uerae sapienciae. Aue qui multipliciter appares, et mundo appares lucifer Dei cognicionis.
- 25 Gaudeas diuinitus illustrata et ignea columna^e orthodoxiae. Gaudeas qui ex oriente ad occidentem per mare ambul-
- 38.1 lasti^f. Gaudeas sol orbis terrae, qui cuncta illuminas. Gaudeas os dei sapienciae, linguam habens ignitam. Gaudeas iugiter emanans fons sanitatum^g. Gaudeas demonum terribilis insecutor. Gaudeas qui es multipliciter^h obtabilis formositas Armeniae. Gaudeas
- 5 qui es Lyppareos salutabilis et multimodis adorabilis gloriacio. Gaudeas qui mare sanctificasti meabilibus gressibus. Gaudeas qui terram purpuream fecisti rubore castissimorum sanguinum tuorum. Gaudeas qui aerem suauitatis odoribus replesti sacris spiraminibus diuinorum eloquiorum tuorum. Gaudeas qui ad caelos commeasti, et
- 10 medius in choro diuinae acieiⁱ tue refulges in gloriae inaccessibilis splendore^j, in exultacionis insaciabili^k iocunditate.
- Illinc nos benignissime intuearis. Illinc benedicas te beatificantibus. Illinc^l glorifices te canentes. Illinc concordem orbem terrae paccatum. Sacerdotes iusticia in sanctitate induantur. Reges bonis
- 15 operibus in orthodoxia contra barbaros armentur. Monasticam uitam tenentes conuersacionem aequalem angelorum ac sine dolo custodiant. Viri mulieribus, et rursus mulieres uiris competentem legem^m conseruent. Patres cum filiis, dominos cum seruis, prelatos cum subditis, mutuum dantes cum debitoribus, uenundantes cum
- 20 ementibus omniaque beneuolencie tuae affectu ad utilitatem rei publice protege, et cuncta quae secundum beneplacitum Dei dirigi

a superni caelestis sponsi DhDaDf, semper celestis sponsi (celesti sponso Dc) DcDe, supercelestis sponsi Db, supercelestis sponsi Dd
b potacio Dh, potatio et De, potationibus Db, potationis Dcett.
c aue periturae capturae piscator Dh
d rector DhDbDcDfDg, rhetor Dcett.
e columbana Dh
f ambulasti DhDa, gloriose ambulasti Dcett.
g fons sanitatum emanans Dh, emanans fons sanitatum Dcett.
h multipliter Dh
i aciei Dh, diuinae aciei Dcett.
j in gloria inaccessibili splendore Dh, in gloria inaccessibile splendorem Dg, in gloriae inaccessibilis splendore Dcett.
k insaciabili ex insaciabilis Dh
l illinc ex illic fort. m. corr. Dh
m legem om. m^l, supplev. in mg. m. corr. Dh

debentur^a, patrocínio tuo defende, et precipue alumnos decore
Lyppareos, pastorem quoque ac gregem qui construxit sacrum tem-
plum tuum, et eum qui te, licet breuiter, ecce laudare presumit.

(BHL 1007, Dh f. 163ra14)

- 10.1 Haec de beati Bartholomaei laudibus eiusque
mirabiliter adueto in Lipparim corpore Theodorus, fama sanctitatis
ac sacerdotii dignitate conspicuus, fido relatu explicuit. Qua dein-
ceps occasione quoue^b sit ordine de eadem insula Beneuentum trans-
5 latum, e uestigio promendum est^c.
Cum in eadem insula
Lipparitana usque ad annum
octingentesimum tricesimum octauum
ab incarnatione Domini nostri
10 Iesu Christi requiesceret corpus
eiusdem beati Bartholomei apostoli,
superuenientes Sarraceni^d
depredati sunt atque depopulati^e predictam insulam et
rumpentes sepulchrum^f beati Bartholomei^g disperserunt ossa eius
15 per diuersa. Mox illis recedentibus, per uisionem apparens idem apostolus
[Dei
cuidam Greco monacho, qui fuerat custos aecclesiae illius, ait illi:
Surge, collige ossa mea quae dispersa sunt. Cui ille respondit:
Quare ossa tua colligere, aut aliquem tibi honorem exhibere debemus,
cum tu dimiseris nos et populum istum^h a paganis deleri, et nostri
[nequaquam
20 auxiliatusⁱ sis? At ille dixit: Per longa annorum curricula pro hoc
populo Deum deprecatus sum, ac meis eum precibus, unde nunc usque se-
securi constiterunt, concessit omnipotens Deus. Set quia multiplicata
sunt mala illius creuitque iniquitas eius nimis, non iam pro eo obtinere
[ualui,
12.1 ut amplius saluus persisteret; idcirco periit. Tu surge tantum et collige ut
[dixi ossa
mea, eaque ut tibi precepero diligenter reconde. Cui ille monachus ait: Et
[quo-
modo ea inuenire potero, qui nescio ubi dispersa sunt? Dicit ei

a dirigi debentur DhDaDbDfDg, dirigebantur Dc, dirigi debent DdDe
b quae Dh, quoue Dcett.
c promendum est ex promendumest Dh
d sarraceni ex sarceni m¹ Dh
e depopulati DhGcGdGeGf, depopulauerunt DaDf, depraedauerunt DdBc
f rumpentes se sepulchrum Dh
g beati apostoli Dh, beati Bartholomei Dcett.
h tuum Dh, istum Dcett.
i aul inchoav., sed corr. auxiliatus m¹ Dh
j quae Dh, quia DfDg, qui Dcett.

- 5 apostolus: Nocte uade ad colligendum ea, et ubi uideris aliqua
resplendere ut ignem haec leua, quia ipsa sunt ossa mea. Qui statim
surgens perrexit ad locum, et inuenit sicut ei apostolus dixerat,
et collegit ea indubitanter, et recondita in uase abscondit et abiit^a,
relicto ibi socio suo.

- Cumque pro exquirendis Sarracenis illuc Longobardorum irent
10 nauigia, nutu Dei inuentum ibi monachum et sancti apostoli
corpus tulerunt et abierunt. Superuenientes namque Sarraceni
circumdederunt nauem illam, ubi sanctum ducebatur corpus apo-
stoli, ita ut spes euadendi nequaquam esset. Tunc subito factae sunt
[densis-
15 simae tenebrae ante Sarracenorum naues^b, ita ut nescirent^c quo perge-
rent, sicque liberata est navis illa^d.
Quibus adhuc in mari commeantibus^e, unum ex nautis eiusdem nauis
a graui inualitudine^f obtentu ipsius apostoli diuina saluauit^g clemencia.
[Exeuntes

- denique ad terram, ingenti cum honore Beneuentum^h duxerunt sanc-
tumⁱ apostoli corpus, atque in altario recondiderunt^j, anno ab incar-
20 natione Domini octingentesimo tricesimo nono, uicesimo quinto uideli-
cet diae mensis Octobris.
13.1 Cuius prior quidem ex Indorum parte transuectio
in Lypparitanam insulam celebratur nono Kalendarum Septembrium^k.
Dormicionis uero eius festiua celebritas colitur, ut premissum est,
quinto decimo Kalendas Iulii^l. Sicque ter in anno eius sacratissima
5 digne celebratur festiuitas, regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo
quem decet omnis honor et gloria, omnisque adoracio cum omnipo-
tente Patre, ac sanctissimo et uiuifico Spiritu, nunc et semper et in
secula seculorum. Amen.

a et abiit om. m¹, sed supplev. in mg. m. corr. Dh
b nauem Dh, naues Dcett.
c ita ut nescirent ex ita ut nescirent ut m. corr. Dh
d liberata nauis est illa Dh, liberata est nauis illa Dcett.
e meantibus in mari Dh, in mari commeantibus Dcett.
f inualitudine Dh et post corr. m. rec. Dc, ualitudine Dcett.
g sanauit DhGb, saluauit Dcett.
h beneuentum ex benefentum m¹ Dh
i sancti Dh, sanctum Dcett.
j in altari ore recondiderunt Dh
k nono kalendarum septembrium Dh, nono kalendarum septembris Df, octauo kalendarum
septembrii DcDg, quinto decimo kalendarum iuliarum Db, septimo die mensis iulii (verbo
decimo omissio ?) Da
l quinto decimo kalendas (kalendarum DcDfDg) iulii DhDcDfDg, octauo kalendas (kalenda-
rum Db) septembriarum DaDb

M. Gosman

Dans les littératures médiévales le passé joue un rôle prépondérant. On le sait. Le clan, la famille et la *natio* ont besoin d'une identification historique qui leur procure une raison d'être aussi bien qu'une certaine garantie protectrice. Sans ancêtres identifiables (et ici la vérité historique — si jamais elle existe — ne joue aucun rôle) ils ne fonctionnent pas bien. L'attitude du chrétien médiéval face au passé est cependant ambivalente: d'un côté, il voit avec un certain déplaisir la dégradation des temps (depuis l'expulsion du Paradis l'homme a perdu sa pureté originelle); de l'autre côté, il espère — et voilà quand même un peu d'optimisme — pouvoir sauver son âme et participer un jour aux joies célestes. Quelle que soit l'option choisie, il sera impossible (même encore aujourd'hui) de sevrer le chrétien de son passé qui est — et ce n'est même pas un paradoxe — son futur (Schmale 1985, 62).

Aussi la culture médiévale traduit-elle régulièrement le besoin d'ancrer le *modus vivendi* de l'époque dans une tradition qui se porte garant des valeurs éternelles. Cela se voit non seulement dans ce qui est concret, tangible (architecture, sculpture, peinture), mais aussi dans l'abstrait (philosophie, littérature, rapports socio-politiques avec les autres, et ainsi de suite).

Ce qui ne veut pas dire que l'homme médiéval ignore que son présent est différent de son passé. Tout en constatant le divorce entre le présent et le passé, l'homme de ces temps s'efforce de ne pas trop élargir le fossé entre ces deux mondes et — conséquence logique de l'idée que sa civilisation chrétienne est bien supérieure à tout ce qui la précédait — il tente de dompter ce passé, de se l'approprier par le biais de sacrifices mentaux constants.

Mais le passé n'est pas un ensemble indivisible; d'une part, il faut distinguer le passé lié à la révélation divine (véhiculé par la Bible, l'hagiographie et l'histoire du christianisme), d'autre part il existe toute une histoire non chrétienne dont on essaie de s'accommoder tant bien que mal (ici il faut penser surtout à l'apport

de la civilisation antique). Ce qui frappe cependant, c'est que dans le feu de leur discours certains auteurs médiévaux sont fort enclins à prendre le passé comme un bloc monolithique, à le pétrifier (ce phénomène intéressant se repère d'ailleurs jusque dans le 16^e siècle; Giraud-Jung 1972, 56). Cependant, à travers tout le Moyen Age la connaissance du passé reste fragmentaire, ce qui n'est pas illogique puisque pour le passé lointain (celui d'avant l'ère chrétienne) on ne dispose que de renseignements fournis par l'Ancien Testament ou de sources païennes réputées peu fiables, parfois mêmes contradictoires. On constate cependant, surtout à partir du 15^e siècle, que le sens critique ainsi que le besoin de savoir, qui se traduit souvent sous forme de collections d'objets, de livres, d'antiquités, amènent un début d'analyse et de synthèse. Ce mouvement dont l'origine doit se chercher dans l'Italie des Académies s'épanouira dans le siècle suivant (on n'a qu'à penser aux travaux de Guillaume Budé sur la numismatique, etc.). Mais avant cette période de changements considérables, la perception du passé et, à fortiori, celle du passé antique ne se présente que sous forme 'atomisée' (Buck 1968, 54).

Cela d'ailleurs pour deux raisons: d'abord, comme je viens de dire, parce qu'au Moyen Age la totalité du savoir concernant le passé n'est pas accessible (abstraction faite, bien sûr, des possibilités humaines d'embrasser pareille totalité); ensuite — et cela se révélera avec d'autant plus de prégnance en littérature et en historiographie — parce que l'enregistrement de ce même passé restera encore soumis à des exigences d'ordre socio-politique et religieux amenées bien souvent par cette idée de supériorité chrétienne: on ne veut ni ne peut voir 'juste' et le respect témoigné au texte écrit est trop grand; les contradictions s'intègrent facilement. A l'époque où naît le roman antique les auteurs semblent déjà heureux de pouvoir exploiter les veines d'une intertextualité toujours plus riche, toujours plus nuancée. Benoît de Saint-Maure n'utilise-t-il pas avec une confiance presque aveugle le *De excidio Trojae* de Darès le Phrygien et l'*Ephemeris belli trojani* de Dycitis de Crète, textes de notre ère chrétienne, pour faire l'histoire de Troie? Il les préfère à Homère qu'il traite de menteur. D'ailleurs, si jamais on constate que les sources se contredisent, comme le fait par exemple un Ordéric Vital, on se borne à recommander une certaine cautèle ou, tout simplement, on écarte le problème: les contraires ne sont que des émanations de l'intention divine; ils cachent tout simplement une vérité qui n'est pas encore accessible. La notion de la *discordia delectans* peut couvrir ainsi beaucoup de défauts. D'ailleurs, il ne faut pas vouloir trop à la fois (Wolff 1971, 218).

Ce qui, par contre, ne saurait être ignoré, c'est l'opposition entre les conceptions de l'Antiquité et les visions chrétiennes accréditées. La pensée païenne ne se tolère que si elle manifeste sa soumission à la Doctrine gardée par Rome et ses représentants omniprésents. A la rigueur, on accepte l'idée d'une chronologie: l'apport de l'Antiquité à la civilisation humaine serait alors une des marches de l'escalier qui mène vers le salut chrétien (il va de soi que les marches supérieures sont celles du Christianisme). C'est le thème bien connu de la *translatio studii* (et *imperii*), idée psychologique plutôt qu'archéologique. Cette attitude évolutionniste positive traduite, entre autres, par l'image des nains qui se trouvent sur les épaules des géants (image attribuée à Bernard de Chartres) ne se

trouve pas nécessairement en opposition avec la bien chrétienne idée de la dégradation des temps. Prise au pied de la lettre, cette dernière idée impliquerait un déclin inévitable du savoir, mais la souplesse philosophique et théologique du Moyen Age transforme la quantité païenne en qualité chrétienne: en épurant le savoir antique on retrouve l'éternel humain compatible avec la Doctrine: *Quaecumque enim scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt*: ... avait dit saint Paul (*Rom.*, 15,4). Virgile annonce le Christ, la figure d'Aristote renvoie au Dieu personnel hébraïco-chrétien et Platon est un Moïse attique (Garin, 1968,79). Bède le Vénérable étudie le passé parce que cela permet d'élucider certains aspects de la société chrétienne qui est la sienne (Vaughan 1986,8). Quant à la forme qu'avait épousée le dire classique, le problème est moins grand: l'*inventio* médiévale s'inspire volontiers du mode latin; la sensibilité auctorielle s'empare ainsi de la belle formule latine ainsi que de la technique rhétorique qui la met en évidence. Dieu n'en sera que mieux servi.

La culture antique (N.B. avant le 15^e siècle la littérature grecque ne sera accessible que dans des traductions ou remaniements latins occasionnés bien souvent par des traductions en arabe) est donc modifiée dans le sens que je viens de décrire, car elle ne peut pas être intégrée sans certaines mesures de précaution. Cela se comprend. Mais il y a plus. Ce savoir déjà atomisé (on ne dispose que de peu de textes) est soumis à d'autres procédures de sélection qui le fragmentent davantage, car les auteurs médiévaux n'ayant à leur disposition qu'un savoir déjà élagué (leurs 'sources' sont bien souvent de simples florilèges d'école) n'y puisent que ce dont ils ont besoin pour le retravailler ensuite à leur guise. Il appert donc que ce n'est pas uniquement la totalité du savoir antique qui est soumise aux exigences d'une supériorité chrétienne qu'on n'a pas le droit de discuter, mais aussi les détails qui le constituent: les volontés auctorielles d'arriver à une *dispositio* adéquate (et cela signifie un asservissement de tout ce que pourrait apporter l'Antiquité!) intensifient le processus d'atomisation déjà signalée.

A tout ceci s'ajoutent les conséquences d'une certaine incompréhension, que ce soit au niveau de l'ensemble de la culture antique ou au niveau de ses détails. Puisqu'au Moyen Age l'histoire (sens moderne) ne se capte ni dans sa totalité ni dans son essence (comment cela serait-il possible avec, d'un côté, un savoir morcelé et, de l'autre, une incapacité foncière auprès des chrétiens de placer la marche de l'homme dans une perspective autre que sotériologique?), la causalité historique ne sera guère visible. Dans la pratique il ne s'agira que d'une certaine succession d'événements (Certeau 1975, 111). Pour l'homme du 12^e siècle les fragments écrits dont il dispose n'ont pas vraiment de cadre référentiel; il ne peut pas comprendre qu'il se trouve en face de représentants d'une littérature et d'une pensée antique soumises, elles aussi, à des lois de chronologie et d'intertextualité. Tout simplement, il ne peut pas voir la société antique. Celle-ci, on ne la découvrira qu'aux 15^e et 16^e siècles lorsque la philologie engendre l'archéologie. Au niveau des détails qui lui sont disponibles l'homme du Moyen Age manifestera ainsi bien des incompréhensions. Cela se voit par exemple déjà bien souvent dans la façon dont il traite les notions typiquement antiques.¹ Ce qui ne veut pas dire

¹ On n'a qu'à étudier la technique traduisante d'un traducteur professionnel comme Jean de Vignay pour se rendre compte du degré d'incompréhension qui, au 14^e siècle encore, marquera les connaissances du monde 'antique'. Voir, entre autres, Gosman (1986). Un

que cette incapacité d'interpréter correctement le monde du passé serait compensée par de meilleures connaissances de son monde à lui et des faits et valeurs qui y ont cours; la société autoritaire qui l'abrite ne tient pas particulièrement à ce qu'il développe (trop) son sens critique (Davy 1977, 89-90).

Le paradoxe s'annonce: dans tous les cas le savoir classique, pour autant qu'il est disponible, est censuré, soumis à des procédures d'insertion qui l'asservissent et le dénaturent, mais malgré tout cela, son influence déjà énorme ira en s'agrandissant. Malgré le fait qu'au 12^e siècle l'apport de la culture classique n'en est qu'à ses débuts, son influence, aussi fragmentaire qu'elle soit, bat une brèche dans le bastion de la pensée chrétienne. La rencontre avec cet autre univers mental produit un choc considérable: l'homme païen paraît avoir des dieux, mais il ne pense pas vraiment en termes de théocratie (comme le ferait un 'bon' chrétien). Aussi l'intégration de cette pensée inacceptable dans la société chrétienne s'accompagne-t-elle de commentaires qui en neutralisent la perniciosité. Surtout chez les auteurs qui écrivent en latin. Au près des auteurs écrivant en langue vulgaire (visant un autre public) la réfutation dogmatique n'est pas bien fréquente. Chez eux on repère plutôt une certaine hésitation devant le religieux non chrétien, hésitation qui se camoufle à l'aide d'un lexique peu précis. Cela se constate, entre autres, dans le *Roman d'Alexandre* (= *RAlix*).² L'incompréhension intellectuelle non voulue se double ainsi d'une peur de comprendre (ou d'expliquer) trop bien. Le résultat est — et il faut en être reconnaissant — une augmentation des possibilités poétiques.

Aux conditions imposées de par les circonstances (N.B. il faut se demander si vraiment tous les auteurs médiévaux étaient bien conscients des causes profondes des contraintes socio-religieuses canalisant leur créativité; on a l'impression que pour beaucoup d'entre eux il ne s'agissait que d'une condition 'naturelle') s'ajoutent les exigences du didactisme médiéval: le fameux *docere et delectare* a son petit mot à dire. Au moment de l'intégration même se pose le problème de la pertinence sociologique du texte littéraire, de sa lisibilité et légitimité pour le groupe censé devoir assimiler le texte au sujet non conforme. Le monde atomisé du passé 'national' ou 'antique' n'esquisse qu'un cadre bien flou. La façon dont les textes sont 'féodalisés' le montre bien. Censée véhiculer le passé 'national' la matière carolingienne ne discute au fond que le contemporain: le défi de Ganelon, par exemple, ne se comprend que dans une société qui vit précisément dans un contexte féodal à la 12^e siècle. Ce lien est encore logique, puisque le règne de Charlemagne se trouve au berceau du système féodal et que les jongleurs/copistes ne font que perfectionner ce qui circulait déjà oralement. Le cadre 'antique' basé sur des documents provenant d'un passé païen sera féodalisé, lui aussi, mais cette couverture socio-politique est — je l'ai déjà dit — le produit d'une attitude auctorielle vraiment peu consciente du clivage entre le cadre 'historique' du

exemple intéressant de l'incompréhension médiévale se voit dans les adaptations des calendriers d'origine romaine: un geste symbolisant le sacrifice aux lares domestiques romains devant la cheminée est interprété comme le geste que l'on fait pour se réchauffer devant cette même cheminée (Comet 1983, 11).

² J'y reviendrai dans une étude ultérieure.

document et la situation contemporaine: la *Thébaïde* de Stace est lue comme un texte quasi contemporain et, par conséquent, complètement retravaillée dans le *Roman de Thèbes* et cela dans la perspective de la lisibilité indispensable. Le conflit entre Daire le Roux et son maître est un bel exemple de cette procédure d'insertion (Zumthor 1972, 33; Petit 1985, 113-61).

Et c'est ici que règne, en maître presque absolu, l'anachronisme créateur. Les facteurs énumérés dans ce qui précède (l'atomisation du passé, la précellence d'exigences dispositionnelles et socio-religieuses impliquant le rejet ou la neutralisation du païen pur aussi bien que le didactisme régissant l'adaptation aux goûts d'un public encore moins conscient peut-être que son/ses auteur(s) des problèmes liés au choc des deux cultures) transforment le passé et ses héros. Ceux-ci sont — et on l'a dit déjà bien souvent — des héros ambigus. Depuis un bon moment déjà l'Alexandre des nombreuses *vitae* qui circulent (et je me limite ici au héros macédonien) n'est plus un Grec vivant dans un contexte bien à lui. Il n'est que l'avatar d'un processus de transformation qui a commencé au moment même où les panégyristes confient ses faits et gestes au papyrus ou au parchemin: abstraction, sélection, idéologie et partialité conditionnent la perception et l'enregistrement (Rusch 1985, 297). Ce processus est d'autant plus compliqué qu'il ne nous reste pratiquement plus rien du temps du héros lui-même; tous les documents qui sont à la base des produits médiévaux datent de notre ère. Les différentes versions attribuées au Pseudo-Callisthène ont probablement été écrites au 3^e siècle ou même encore plus tard et la traduction-adaptation en latin, le *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* de Jules Valère est du siècle suivant. Par des chemins extrêmement tortueux que je ne présenterai pas ici, la matière de Macédoine arrive en Europe occidentale où les littératures en langue vulgaire l'accaparent.³ Le héros s'y conduira comme un prince français, allemand, etc. La distance entre le modèle 'historique' (et ici j'accepte la prémisse philosophique que ce modèle existe vraiment à l'état pur) et l'image qu'en a recréée l'auteur médiéval (ou faut-il dire conservée?) est tellement grande qu'on est sérieusement amené à penser que ce n'est pas le contexte médiéval qui est anachronique, mais les données de l'histoire, c'est-à-dire ce qui est raconté. Ainsi, l'Alexandre du *RAlix* ne sera donc pas un Grec à la mode de France, mais un Français à la mode de Grèce.⁴

Cette perte d'identité (si le mot est juste!) sera d'autant plus forte à cause du fait, mentionné déjà, que la littérature est pour une grande partie enseignement. Et un enseignement (oh, la belle lapalissade!) n'est utile que s'il implique de façon ou d'autre le *hic et nunc* du destinataire: le passé ne pourra pas ne pas se faire contemporain. Mais puisque la contemporanéité auctorielle médiévale n'est en principe jamais soumise à des exigences liées à une volonté mimétique, l'auteur du Moyen Âge ne décrira pas les événements, mais il les interprétera selon les nécessités du moment (Bulhof 1983, 6). La moralisation en est la conséquence

³ Ceci ne veut pas dire que la littérature latine oublie le personnage. Pour l'évolution de l'ensemble, voir Ross 1988.

⁴ Je prends 'Français' ici dans son acception moderne. Tout le monde sait qu'au 12^e siècle la véritable France ne comporte, grosso modo, que le patrimoine royal autour de Paris.

logique. Et c'est donc ici que s'annonce le véritable problème: le monde 'antique', disponible seulement sous forme 'atomisée' ne pourra jamais être décrit, même si on le voulait. Et puisque la description exacte de leur environnement n'a pas intéressé les auteurs du Moyen Age ni d'ailleurs leur public, force est de constater que les hommes de ces temps ont dû formuler des préceptes moraux sur la base de comparaisons boiteuses: aucun des pôles impliqués (comparant ou comparé) n'a jamais été vraiment visible (Gosman 1988, 29). On comprendra que tout ceci n'est pas typique pour la réception de la matière 'de Rome'; il en est de même de la matière 'de Bretagne' ou 'de France' ou de données d'autre provenance.

Et pourtant, il y a eu des héros et des mises-en-scène 'antiques' auxquels on a pu s'identifier. La réception du personnage d'Alexandre dans la littérature française (et ailleurs) est là pour en témoigner. Il doit donc avoir été question d'une actualisation de dispositifs narratifs aussi bien que psychologiques ayant permis une certaine intégration des débris du passé, de ces 'atomes' dans des ensembles qui suggèrent une cohérence plus ou moins parfaite et, partant fonctionnelle. De là — et je ne donne qu'un seul exemple — des comparaisons du type qu'on rencontre dans le *Conte du Graal*: ... *li quens Phelipes de Flandres/ Qui valt mix ne fist Alixandres* (vv. 13-4).⁵ Le comte n'est pas comparé au roi historique (ce genre de comparaisons est impossible), mais à une icône renvoyant, en l'occurrence, à une *utilitas* royale médiévale idéalisée (Harth 1982, 467) ou, en d'autres termes, à un descriptif qui, la plupart du temps, se fait normatif; par rapport au fameux Macédonien humain, lui aussi: ...*cil ot en lui amassez/ Toz les visces et toz les maus* (ibidem, vv. 19-20), Philippe est vraiment un prince modèle.

La conséquence en est que la *narratio*, base de toute lecture et de toute interprétation, ne sera au fond qu'un méta-discours par rapport à ce qui doit être considéré comme vraiment 'historique'. La Doctrine, c'est-à-dire le sacro-saint moralisme didactique médiéval, ne transcrit et commente du passé que ce qui semble 'réel' aux yeux des destinataires. C'est cette Doctrine-là, instance superbement abstraite, qui donne une certaine structure à la mise-en-texte des 'atomes' du passé; c'est elle qui régit le descriptif. Dans les romans 'antiques' la chronologie détermine en principe la *dispositio* de la matière; pour ce qui concerne le Macédonien le schéma de ses aventures était déjà donné: la plupart des textes fournissent une *vita* complète, de la naissance à la mort. Ce qui varie cependant à l'intérieur de ces ensembles, c'est la disposition et, surtout, l'importance des 'atomes'. Et c'est donc ici que se manifeste toute l'importance du métacommentaire auctorial (pas toujours présent d'ailleurs). J'en présente ici quelques détails pris dans le prologue et l'épilogue du *Roman d'Alexandre* (= *RAlix*).

La formule *D'Alixandre vous voeil l'istoire rafreschir* employée par Alexandre de Bernai dans le prologue du *RAlix* (v. 13)⁶ doit être interprétée dans une double perspective: abstraction faite des possibilités sémantiques du substantif *istoire* ('histoire', 'récit'), le verbe *rafreschir* signifie ici 'rappeler à la mémoire' aussi bien que 'mettre à jour'. La dernière acception sera prédominante puisque le compila-

teur refaçonne à sa guise les données ('atomisées') apportées par la tradition. C'est le prologue même qui nous en fournit les indices: quatre éléments-clé s'y dépitent:

1) l'empire d'Alexandre, le *meilleur roi que Dieus laissast mourir* (v.10) bénéficie du consentement de Dieu et cela dès la naissance du héros; c'est ainsi que

*Dieus demoustra par signe qu'il se feroit cremir,
Car l'en vit l'air müier, le firmament croissir
Et la terre croller, la mer par leus rougir
Et les bestes trambler et les homes fremir;
Ce fu senefiance que Dieus fist esclarcir
Pour moustrer de l'enfant qu'en devoit avenir
Et com grant seignorie il avroit a baillir.* (vv. 23-9)

2) l'histoire de ce roi est un *bon exemple*: on y apprend comment

*...connoistre reison d'amer et de haïr,
...ses amis garder et chierement tenir,
...anemis grever,...* (vv. 3-5)

3) le roi sait apprécier et récompenser la loyauté:

*Qui service li fist ne s'en dut repentir
Car touz ert ses corages en leur bons acomplir,
Et il i parut bien aus durs estors souffrir,
Car au destroit besoing ne li volt nus faillir.* (vv. 16-9)

4) par contre, ses ennemis sauront à qui ils ont affaire:

*Qui servir nel deigna, nel pot tor garantir
Ne deserz ne mal pas, tant seüst loing foïr.* (vv. 20-1)

Ces quatre éléments ne proviennent pas tels quels de la tradition: le premier trouve une certaine motivation dans le livre de Daniel (VII,6; VIII,3-26 et XI,1 sqq) où il y a plusieurs détails allégoriques pouvant être interprétés comme des allusions aux aventures d'Alexandre (ce que les commentateurs n'ont d'ailleurs pas manqué de faire);⁷ le troisième prend son origine dans I Macchabées I,1-10 où se racontent les conquêtes du Macédonien; c'est au verset 7 que l'on trouve les *pueros suos nobiles, qui secum* (= avec Alexandre) *erant nutriti*. Le quatrième élément est un produit de lecture: le véritable héroïsme, incarnation de la *virtus* antique (Beumann 1982, 162) ne peut que triompher du Mal. Quant au deuxième élément qui, il faut le dire, n'est pas sans liens avec les deux derniers, il est clair qu'il renvoie au topos bien connu de l'histoire *magistra vitae*: le didactisme

⁵ Edition de Roach 1959, vv. 13-4.

⁶ L'édition utilisée est celle d'Armstrong 1937.

⁷ Pour ces interprétations, voir Cary 1967, 118-25.

médiéval, habitué à la morale hagiographique aussi bien qu'à l'interprétation sotériologique, traduit facilement le fait historique en enseignement. Bien sûr, il ne faudra pas établir de liens directs entre les éléments bibliques et les échos qu'on en trouve dans le *RAlix* ou dans d'autres textes. Tout ce qui touche à l'héroïsme, par exemple, fait partie du patrimoine culturel universel; on n'a qu'à penser aux traditions classique et germanique (Curtius 1967, 177-83). Ce que fait ici Alexandre de Bernai, c'est esquisser le cadre interprétatif de sa grande compilation. Il respectera ce cadre. Que le lecteur/auditeur en fasse autant.

Tout ceci marque une volonté d'actualiser l'*istoire*, de la *rafreschir* comme le dit notre compilateur. Des exemples intéressants de cette approche sont, entre autres, le rejet dans le *RAlix* de la prétendue bâtardise du conquérant racontée encore en détail dans, par exemple, la tradition représentée par l'*Historia de Preliis* (= *HdP*) et l'insistance avec laquelle sont décrits les rapports heureux entre le roi et ses hommes. Dans l'optique médiévale la succession dynastique devait être sans tache, surtout au 12^e siècle où la succession non perturbée de père en fils n'est pas encore automatique. Il s'y ajoute un autre détail, conséquence logique du rejet du rôle du sorcier Nectanébus qui, déguisé comme le dieu égyptien Amon, aurait engendré Alexandre auprès d'Olympias; le fait que le compilateur insiste tellement sur la légitimité d'Alexandre implique le refus de sa divinité accentuée encore dans l'*HdP* et escamotée, fort maladroitement, dans le remaniement en ancien français du 13^e siècle (Gosman 1985). D'ailleurs, tout cela est bien obligé dans le *RAlix*: le consentement du Dieu chrétien explicitement marqué dans le prologue élimine automatiquement le rôle des dieux païens. Pour ce qui est de la relation entre le roi et ses hommes, le compilateur reprend les *pueros nobiles* mentionnés dans la Bible, mais il en fait des *magnates*, des pairs d'une société féodale qui mettent leurs épées au service d'Alexandre et cela sans poser des conditions préalables. Ils savent qu'ils seront récompensés. D'autres exemples pourraient être allégués, mais il est déjà clair qu'Alexandre de Bernai ne veut pas écrire une histoire dans le sens moderne, basée sur un empirisme documentaire, mais une *istoire* médiévale, c'est-à-dire un récit qui emprunte ses éléments constitutifs, ses 'atomes', à une trame livrée par la tradition (...*trouuee/En pluseurs leus escrite et par bouche contee*; branche I, vv. 63-4) et qui les présente bien. Ici on doit se référer aux paroles de dénigrement bien traditionnelles à l'adresse de ces *trouveour bastart* qui ne *conoissent bons mos*, dont l'oeuvre mal construite doit être tenue ensemble par des *paniaus*, etc. (branche I, vv. 37-41). On arrive ainsi au *bien dire et bien aprendre* de Chrétien de Troyes (*Erec et Enide*, v. 12).⁸

Ce n'est pas uniquement le choix des éléments constitutifs qui leur confère un certain poids. C'est aussi leur mise-en-texte qui détermine leur importance. Il suffit, puisque le procédé n'est que trop connu, de faire ici quelques remarques rapides. Le compilateur insiste longuement sur l'*utilitas* incarnée par Alexandre. Ce n'est pas pour rien qu'il peint de façon si exhaustive l'éducation du jeune roi en qui *chevalerie et clergie* se combinent en un mélange heureux et qu'il 'enregistre' lors de la mort du héros tant de plaintes douloureuses, car la disparition

8 Edition Roques 1970.

d'Alexandre n'est pas celle d'un personnage (à l'historicité assez floue), mais celle d'un modèle d'une royauté typique dans le panégyrique médiéval.

Aussi le fait que notre compilateur montre certaines hésitations face au religieux ne doit-il pas nous étonner trop. Il est vrai — je viens d'y faire allusion — que les éléments païens lui causent des problèmes à cause de la prédominance de tout ce qui est chrétien (bien qu'à certains endroits il s'efforce de respecter ce qu'il prend pour 'couleur locale'),⁹ mais ce n'est pas là sa principale occupation. S'il avait voulu, il aurait pu amplifier le rôle de l'inspiration chrétienne dans son *istoire* (comme l'a fait, par exemple, le curé allemand Lamprecht), mais il n'a pas donné dans ce piège. Je pense plutôt — et le prologue l'a déjà suggéré — qu'Alexandre de Bernai insiste surtout sur une certaine technicité gouvernementale indispensable à ses yeux à toute royauté. L'Alexandre dont sa *chançon* produit la *vie* n'est pas un personnage historique (abstraction faite de l'impossibilité déjà soulignée d'y arriver, cette idée ne semble même pas avoir effleuré la pensée du compilateur), mais le modèle par excellence dont tous les rois devraient s'inspirer. Du coup — et le manque de repères chronologiques dans les sources aussi bien que dans le texte français même renforce la puissance démonstrative de l'ensemble — le *RAlix* devient un texte dans lequel *Li rois qui son roiaume veut par droit gouverner/ Et li prince et li duc qui terre ont a garder/ Et cil qui par proëce veulent riens conquerer* doivent se mirer (IV:1655;1675-8). Le tout renvoie à une sorte de formation professionnelle valable pour tous les pays et toutes les époques. Et c'est ici que la remarque (traditionnelle, elle aussi, puisqu'on la rencontre déjà bien souvent dans l'épopée française)¹⁰ *Se il fust crestiens, onques ne fu teus ber./ Rois ne fu plus hardis, ne mieus seüst parler...* (IV: 1679-80) prend tout son sens: il suffit d'être chrétien et d'imiter la conduite du Macédonien pour pouvoir incarner la tant désirée *utilitas* royale. Les renseignements de l'histoire (sens moderne) ne comptent pas vraiment. Les 'atomes' rassemblés dans et conservés par le passé constituent en eux-mêmes une masse non fonctionnelle. C'est l'auteur médiéval qui les organise sans trop se soucier de leur provenance ni de leur valeur propre. Ce que le *RAlix* apportera donc, c'est un modèle abstrait. Et tout modèle est le fruit d'une réflexion qui, pour être fonctionnelle, a besoin d'une mise en forme adéquate. L'*istoire* recrée dans le *RAlix* est ainsi le résultat d'une opération intellectuelle consciente qui ne regarde pas vers le passé ('atomisée' ou non), mais vers le futur.¹¹

9 Je reviendrai sur ce problème. Il y a quelques années j'en ai relevé certains détails, mais la matière mérite une approche plus nuancée.

10 On n'a qu'à penser aux nombreuses exclamations dans la *Chanson de Roland* au sujet des exploits réalisés par les chefs de file païens. Cf. par exemple, le *Fust chrestien, asez oüst barnet* (Bédier 1964, v. 899).

11 Tous les auteurs des interpolations dans le *RAlix* s'inspireront du modèle présenté par Alexandre de Bernai. Pour eux l'histoire 'antique' ne semble plus avoir de statut distinct. Je reviendrai sur ce problème dans une étude consacrée au caractère des interpolations.

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BYZANTINISCHE HANDSCHRIFTEN IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT. BEMERKUNGEN ZUM ÄLTESTEN GEDRUCKTEN HANDSCHRIFTENKATALOG (AUGSBURG 1575)*

Jos. M.M. Hermans

Prolegomena

1975, als ich in Groningen ernannt wurde, lag ein bibliothekshistorisches Ereignis genau vier Jahrhunderte zurück: die Publikation des ersten gedruckten und separat herausgegebenen Handschriftenkatalogs. In Kenntnis dieser Tatsache erschien mein erster Artikel auf dem Gebiet der Byzantinistik (Hermans 1976). Dieser behandelte die Entstehungsgeschichte eines Beinamens. Genauer gesagt: Der aus dem kleinasiatischen Chonai stammende byzantinische Historiker Niketas Choniates (um 1155 – um 1215/1216) war längere Zeit in der Wissenschaft (auch) bekannt unter dem Namen 'Akominatos', also Niketas Akominatos Choniates. Nach einer Weile wurde auch seinem Bruder Michael dieser — wie Krumbacher in seinem Handbuch noch mit Nachdruck empfohlen hat — angebliche 'Geschlechtsname' (Krumbacher 1897, 281, Anm. 1) beigegeben. Das Geschichtswerk des Niketas ist unzweifelhaft die wichtigste byzantinische Quelle für unser Wissen über die kulturhistorisch umstürzende Episode des späten 12. Jahrhunderts und die schicksalsreichen Jahre des 4. Kreuzzuges sowie die An-

* Diese Untersuchung wurde zum Teil während meines Studienaufenthaltes (1990) an der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, verfaßt, einer Institution, der ich für die erwiesene Gastfreundschaft herzlich danken möchte. In dieser Respublica Literaria traf ich Herrn Jörg Künast (Augsburg), der im Rahmen seiner Doktorarbeit über den Buchdruck in Augsburg mir seine Informationen über ein Münchener Exemplar des Katalogs von Wolf vermittelte. Weiterhin möchte ich der Handschriftenabteilung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, München, danken. Sie erstellte mir eine Fotokopie des genannten Katalogs, unter Einschuß von Identifikationsbemerkungen. Zu spät erhielt ich Kenntnis davon, daß Frau Professor Dr. Brigitte Mondrain (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris) sich mit Eparchos und seinem 'Handschriftenhandel' beschäftigt. Abschließend geht mein größter Dank an Herrn Dr. Thomas Elsmann (Bremen), der als Gastfreund im Hause meinen Stil und meine Grammatik überwachte.

fänge des Lateinischen Kaisertums. Wie der Autor genau hieß ist dabei natürlich Nebensache, aber es war Anlaß zu einer 'peregrinatio' im Gebiet der Handschriftenkunde, deren Folgen ich damals nicht übersehen konnte.

Der Name 'Akominatos' ist im Mittelalter nicht belegt, ist aber, so meinte ich nachweisen zu können, im Bereich von Bibliotheks- und Verkaufskatalogen von Byzantinischen Handschriften entstanden. Ich hielt es für wahrscheinlich, daß 'Akominatos' zurückginge auf eine verballhornte auslegende Bemerkung zum Inhalt des Textes, eine Geschichte 'A cominatus usque ad Angelos', d.h. 'Von den Komnenen bis auf die Angeloi'. Eine andere, nicht auszuschließende Möglichkeit bleibt die von Grumel vorgeschlagene erklärende Einfügung des (tatsächlich in Handschriften belegten) 'Choniates', also etwas wie 'Niketas', wegen seiner Herkunft (= ἀπὸ κώμης αὐτοῦ) genannt 'Choniates' (vgl. Hermans 1976, 242-3).

Als erster verwendete diesen Namen 'der Vater der deutschen Byzantinistik' (Beck 1984) Hieronymus Wolf (1516-1580) und zwar auf dem Titelblatt der Editio Princeps von Niketas' Geschichtswerkes (Basel, 1557; vgl. unten, Anmerkung zu Nr. 65), wo es hieß: "Nicetae Acominati Choniatae"; Wolf gab aber keinen Beleg für diesen Namen (abgesehen von einer Bemerkung bei den 'variae lectiones et annotationes', S. 318: Νικήτου Ἀκωμινάτου Χωνιάτου). Bei meinen Untersuchungen in Handschriftenkatalogen von spätmittelalterlichen und frühmodernen Bibliotheken und Händlern, begegnete ich verwandten Bemerkungen, aber eine groß angelegte Übersicht über Form, Inhalt und Zweck der derzeitigen Handschriftenbeschreibungen war damals nicht beabsichtigt. Hier sei nur erwähnt, das Wolf, als gelehrter Stadtbibliothekar von Augsburg und sehr geschickt beim Auftreiben von Geldern für Handschriftenerwerbungen, bestimmt viel mit mehr oder weniger ephemeren Beschreibungen (etwa Handelskatalogen oder sonstigen Angeboten) zu tun hatte.

Ein immer wieder in der Literatur über den Handel mit griechischen Handschriften im 16. Jahrhundert auftauchender Name ist der des 1537 aus Korkyra (Korfu) vertriebenen Handelsmannes Antonios Eparchos (1491-1571), von dem etwa um 1544/1545 die Stadt Augsburg, für die beträchtliche Summe von 742 Goldgulden, eine ganze Reihe von griechischen Handschriften erworben hatte (Gier 1987, 7). Obwohl Wolf erst 1557 Bibliothekar wurde, hatte er doch früher schon zu Eparchos Beziehungen (Hermans 1976, 242-3). In diesem Zusammenhang sei darauf hingewiesen, daß Wolf 1575 die Augsburger Sammlung der griechischen Handschriften durch einen gedruckten Katalog der Öffentlichkeit bekannt machte und damit einen Meilenstein auf dem Weg der Handschriftenbeschreibung aufrichtete: sein Katalog war das erste separat erschienene Resultat eines solchen Anliegens (vgl. Lehmann 1941, 307; Kenney 1974, 87; vgl. auch unten).

Der Katalog und der gelehrte Bearbeiter sind zwar bekannt und gepriesen: der Inhalt dieser Sammlung ist jedoch — abgesehen von Einzelbemerkungen — weitestgehend im Dunkeln geblieben, und daher ist es Absicht dieses Aufsatzes den Text herauszugeben (nebst einer knappen Beschreibung des Druckes) und — so weit wie möglich 'aus der Ferne' — bei allen Nummern von 1575 die heutigen Signaturen in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München mitzuteilen

(Informationen, die ich dankenswerterweise von der BSB erhielt, aber dann und wann auch ohne Gewähr weitergeben muß). Wo möglich, wurden auch andere Anmerkungen beige-steuert. So ist in vielen Fällen auch eine Identifizierung mit den Einträgen im Verkaufskatalog des Eparchos (1544) aufgenommen, aber auch da ist selbstverständlich nicht immer die Gleichstellung vollkommen abgesichert. Diese Verkaufsliste wurde schon öfters bearbeitet: abgesehen von einer Ausgabe von Graux (1880) wurde eine Identifizierung von Weinberger (1902) durchgeführt. Der Artikel wird abgeschlossen mit verschiedenen Konkordanzen (nach heutigen Signaturen, nach Nummern von Eparchos und Wolf).

Dem geht eine kurze Beschreibung des Kontextes voran, in welchem der Katalog von 1575, so wie er vorliegt, entstand. War tatsächlich eine wissenschaftliche Absicht der Hauptgrund zur Veröffentlichung oder war der Katalog "brought out less to serve the world of scholarship than to advertise the city of Augsburg, which had brought off a cultural coup by acquiring these Manuscripts and wished the fact to be known" (Kenney 1974, 87)?

Form und Inhalt des Katalogs

Der Katalog besteht aus zwei Bögen in Quarto, signiert A und B (vorhanden sind die Signaturen 'A2', 'A3', 'B' und 'B2'). Das Bändchen enthält eine Titelseite (siehe Abbildung), deren Rückseite unbedruckt blieb, ab A2 folgt der Katalogtext bis auf B3recto; B3verso und das letzte Blatt (B4) blieben wieder unbedruckt (Beschreibung nach Exemplar BSB, 4^o. A. lat. b 228/3).

Als Drucker fungierte Michael Manger, dessen Tätigkeit von 1570 bis 1603 angenommen wird (Benzing 1982, 20, Nr. 28, mit Lit.-Angaben). Er stammte aus Opferbaum bei Würzburg, war zuerst Buchführer, heiratete am 26.6.1569 die Witwe des Matthäus Franck (Drucker 1559-1568; Benzing 1982, 19, Nr. 26) und gelangte so in den Besitz von dessen Druckerei. Im Jahre 1572 verzog er in den Steuerbezirk 'Auf dem Roßmarkt', 1575 zurück in den Steuerbezirk 'Vom Neuen Thor' und zog 1590 nochmals um. Gegen Ende seines Lebens geriet er in finanzielle Schwierigkeiten. Er starb 1603. Die Zahl seiner Drucke ist recht hoch und geht in die Hunderte (Benzing 1982, 19, Nr. 26).

Bemerkenswert ist, daß nirgendwo der Name des Verfassers des Katalogs erwähnt wird, aber da Wolf (seit 1557) Leiter der Augsburger Stadtbibliothek war, wäre eine solche Bemerkung damals wohl überflüssig gewesen. Wo im Text des Katalogs von Wolf die Rede ist, wird er immer in der dritten Person erwähnt (z.B. 'Wolfius convertit', Nr. 65).

Der eigentliche Text gibt eine Reihe von nummerierten Kurzbeschreibungen, meistens auf Latein, selten auch (ein oder mehr Wörter) Griechisch. Die Nummerierung läuft von 1 bis 126, wobei bemerkt werden muß, daß die Nummer 85 zweimal vergeben wurde (von mir als 85 und 85bis gekennzeichnet). Innerhalb einer Beschreibung ist nicht selten mehr als ein Text aufgelistet, gelegentlich sind auch verschiedene Nummern an einen (mehrbändigen) Text vergeben (z.B. Nr. 20 und 21 über zwei Zeilen oder Nr. 82 bis 84, wo man sich mit einer Zeile begnügte).

CATALOGVS
GRAECORVM
 LIBRORVM, MANVS CRIPTO-
 RVM, AVGVSTANAE BIBLIOTHECAE: QVEM,
 ea Respublica, ideò edendum curauit: ut eos,
 vel viris doctis interpretandos: vel diligentibus
 typographis, conferendos, (modò de
 ijs fartis tectis suo tempore restitu-
 endis, caueant) ad augenda rei
 literariae commoda, com-
 municaret.



AVGVSTÆ VINDELICO-
 rum, ex officina Michaëlis
 Mangeri.

ANNO M. D. LXXV.

Die Beschreibungen sind nicht immer eben deutlich: sie wechseln von verhältnismäßig genau, mit Incipit-Angaben (aber auf Lateinisch, z.B. bei Nr. 10), bis zu sehr generellen Formulierungen, wie 'aliquot opera' (Nr. 6). Materielle Merkmale der einzelnen Codices werden nur selten gegeben; so unterblieb eine Angabe des verwendeten Beschreibstoffes (d.h. Pergament, Bombyzin oder Papier). Besonderen Reiz hatte angeblich eine schöne — expressis verbis als solche erwähnte — Majuskelhandschrift mit dem glossierten Text der Evangelien (Nr. 1). In auffallend schlechtem Zustand war andererseits eine Handschrift des Demosthenes, wo Anfang und Ende mutiliert waren (Nr. 70) und — wie die Handschrift (München, BSB Cod.gr. 485) noch heute erkennen läßt — von Wolfs eigener Hand ergänzt werden mußte.

Öfters sind Bemerkungen über Benutzer, Ausgaben, über Übersetzungen oder sonstiges mit nachweisbarer Relevanz für die Texte aufgenommen. So lernt der Leser, daß die Dialoge des Kyrillos von Bonaventura Vulcanius zu Köln benutzt wurden (Nr. 17) oder daß Simon Fabricius eine Übersetzung von Libanios vorgenommen hatte (Nr. 111), derselbe, der auch ein Exzerpt aus Demosthenes anfertigte (Nr. 70). Ausgaben mit Übersetzung werden erwähnt von

Dioskurides (Ioannes Moibanus, Nr. 95) und Nonus Medicus (Ieremias Martius, Nr. 99). Ohne jede Angabe des Bearbeiters werden Drucke der Sibyllinischen Orakel (Basel), von Theodoretos (Paris; beide Nr. 40), Philo (Paris; Nr. 48) und Polybios (Basel; Nr. 62) erwähnt. Bezüglich der Ausgabe eines dem Johannes Monachos zugeschriebenen Dialoges zwischen Leichnam und Seele (erschieden zu Paris) wird vermerkt, daß er unter dem Namen des Gregorius Palamas ans Licht gegeben wurde (Nr. 57). Bibliographisch interessant ist eine Bemerkung zu den 'Απομνημονεύματα diversorum Theologorum' (Nr. 51), von denen gemeldet wird, daß sie in Zürich herausgegeben wurden, aber keine Exemplare mehr erhalten sind ("sed exempla nulla supersunt").

Charakter der Sammlung

Bekanntlich wurde die Grundlage der griechischen Schätze der Augsburger Stadtbibliothek durch den Erwerb einer 'Bibliotheca Graeca' des Eparchos gelegt. Ein glücklicher Zufall will, daß sich diese Sammlung aus dem noch existierenden Katalog (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 9734; olim: Kollar XIV; herausgegeben: Graux 1880, 413-7: appendix 9) erschließen läßt. Eparchos hatte seine Bücher "vel simul omnia vel singula propter rerum penuriam" zum Verkauf angeboten (Graux 1880, 413). Da Augsburg quasi die ganze Sammlung erwarb (vgl. Weinberger 1902), sei hier zunächst etwas zu Eparchos und seiner Bibliothek gesagt.

Antonios Eparchos stammte aus Korfu, wo er 1491 geboren wurde (über Biographie usw. Giotopulu-Sisilianu 1978, Geanakoplos 1962 oder Gamillscheg-Harflinger 1981, 38-9, Nr. 23). Durch den Thrakischen Krieg ruiniert, und aus Furcht, in die Hände der Türken zu fallen, flüchtete er mit seiner Frau und sechs Kindern nach Italien, wo er sich 1537 in der griechischen Kolonie in Venedig niederließ. Für 1540 ist bereits belegt, wie er in der neuen Vaterstadt seinen Lebensunterhalt verdiente. Im genannten Jahre schrieb Pellicier, Botschafter des französischen Königs François I., seiner Majestät mit Mitleid über den ausgewanderten Griechen, aber er erwähnte Eparchos als 'gentilhomme grec' oder 'gentilhomme corfiot', der angeblich mit Handschriften 'en gros' handelte (Graux 1880, 109-10) und auch in die Levante reisen möchte, um dort für François Handschriften zu erwerben (Graux 1880, 112). Angeblich pendelte er zwischen den levantinischen Klöstern und Venedig, was ihm ermöglichte, eine interessante Angebotspalette zu präsentieren (Graux 1880, 113). Mit Sachverstand und Geschick handelte er also mit griechischen Handschriften, manchmal alten Codices, verschiedentlich auch rezenten, die z. B. in Venedig oder im übrigen Italien abgeschrieben waren.

Unter diesem Aspekt ist die Bemerkung, daß Eparchos seine Bibliothek "durch die schlimme Lage der Zeit" verkaufen mußte, einzeln oder 'en bloc', möglicherweise etwas weniger buchstäblich aufzufassen. Wie dem auch sei, es wurde ein Katalog abgefaßt unter dem Titel "Antonij Eparchi Bibliotheca Graeca Venetiis extans" und mit dem Kolophon "Summa volumina centum, quorum 45 in membranis sunt scripta" (vgl. Graux 1880, 413, 417).

In der Sammlung, die Eparchos um 1544 feil bot, waren sehr viele Theologica vorhanden; von den 100 Codices wurden nur 45 als 'Prophana' (sic!) verzeichnet. Die Liste fängt an mit 14 Chrysostomos-Handschriften auf Pergament ("Suprascripta volumina sunt numero 14, omnia in membranis"), gefolgt von 5 Basileios-Handschriften, 4 Handschriften von Gregor von Nyssa und 5 von Gregor von Nazianz. (Ein Vergleich mit dem Katalog vom Jahre 1575 ergibt, daß zwei von den Basileios-Handschriften [Eparchos-Nr. 15 und 18, Wolf-Nr. 28 und 29] zusammengebunden wurden mit zwei Hss. von Gregor von Nyssa [Eparchos-Nr. 20 und 21]). Das belegt, daß diese Konvolute erst in Augsburg entstanden sind. Im folgenden ist die Aufreihung in zwangloser Abfolge, zuerst — wie gesagt — Bibelkommentare und Homiletik, sonstige Texte von Kirchenvätern, Heiligenleben, eine 'Panoplia dogmatike' usw. Die zweite Hauptgruppe bilden Historiker, medizinische Texte, Astronomie, sowie die Σιβυλλας (sic!) τῆς Κυμαίας χρησμοὶ ἐν λόγοις η' (vgl. Graux 1880, 413-7 und Weinberger 1902, 305-7). Es handelte sich um insgesamt 45 Pergamenthandschriften (vgl. oben).

Von dieser Sammlung sind über 80 Handschriften nachweisbar in Augsburg auf uns gekommen (vgl. Weinberger 1902, 307). Wie noch jetzt feststellbar, ist von diesen ungefähr die Hälfte auf Pergament geschrieben und die Masse stammt aus der Blütezeit von Byzanz, also aus dem 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert; nur drei Codices bilden die Ausnahme (Eparchos-Nr. 7, 31 und 55, nicht bei Wolf [Ms. 462; möglich doch Nr. 20]? und Wolf-Nr. 48 und 57). Vier Handschriften, zum Schluß aufgeführt, sind sogar nach-mittelalterlich und stammen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Wie schon von Weinberger hervorgehoben, läßt sich auch eine ganze Reihe von interessanten Vorbesitzern nachweisen, so Georg und Johann Birgetis (zweite Hälfte 15. Jh.: Wolf-Nr. 13, 26, 42, 43, 51, 52, 68; eine Hs., jetzt graec. 524, ist nicht nach Augsburg geraten), das Mangana-Kloster in Konstantinopel (Wolf-Nr. 11; Hs. 356) oder Metropolit Isidor von Athen (Wolf-Nr. 61; Hs. 430) und vier weitere (vgl. Weinberger 1902, 307). Man sollte noch dazu bemerken, daß die letzterwähnte Handschrift (Thucydides, aus dem 10. Jh.) von einer Paläologina dem berühmten Maximos Planudes (13. Jh.) geschenkt wurde (vgl. Kommentar zu Wolf-Nr. 61).

Der Frage nach dem Verbleib der sonstigen Handschriften kann hier nicht nachgegangen werden. Es genügt, daß schon Weinberger und andere Gelehrte verschiedene Codices von dieser Liste (1544) mit erhaltenen oder im Verlauf der Zeit verschollenen Manuskripten z.B. in Paris oder im Escorial (vgl. Weinberger 1902, 309-11 und Hermans 1976) identifizieren konnten. Weinberger formulierte auch schon den Verdacht, daß Eparchos, obwohl bereits in Verhandlungen mit Augsburg stehend, Manuskripte an den spanischen Gesandten in Venedig veräußerte. Um die runde Zahl von 100 aufrecht zu erhalten, hat er offenbar andere Handschriften hinzugefügt, z.B. aus dem Nachlaß von Laskaris, dessen Verwandter und Erbe Eparchos war (Weinberger 1902, 310; vgl. Kommentar zu Wolf-Nr. 25).

Das alles macht deutlich, daß die zwei Drittel der Handschriften, die über Eparchos 1575 in die Augsburger Stadtbibliothek geraten waren, bestimmt eine große Anziehungskraft gehabt haben. Die Herkunft der sonstigen Handschriften können wir schwerlich feststellen, obwohl die Frequenz von Codices aus contem-

poränen Werkstätten, etwa von Andreas Darmarios (Wolf-Nr. 120-1, 123-5), uns einen gewissen Einblick erlaubt.

Der besondere Charakter der Augsburger Sammlung wird um so besser ans Licht gebracht, wenn man diese mit dem vergleicht, was Eparchos z.B. 1551 dem französischen König in der nicht getäuschten Erwartung einer reichen Gegengabe schenkte. Hier lag der Schwerpunkt gerade bei den jüngeren Handschriften, d.h. aus dem 13.-16. Jahrhundert, und verstärkt können wir 'italienische' Produkte feststellen (vgl. Weinberger 1902, 303-5, 310).

Zum Abschluß: Handschriften und ihre Beschreibung im 16. Jahrhundert

Wenn wir uns nochmals die Beschreibungen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert ansehen, und uns fragen, was die damaligen Bearbeiter und Bibliothekare mit ihrer Arbeit beabsichtigten, so wird deutlich, daß unsere modernen Maßstäbe für eine elementare oder ausgedehnte Beschreibung (ganz zu schweigen von einer DFG-gemäßen Beschreibung!) nicht angelegt wurden: nicht einmal Format oder Blattzahlen sind gegeben (vgl. Lehmann 1956-60, I, 107-8).

Doch kann man an Hand von erhaltenen Katalogeinträgen und Beschreibungen etwas über die damaligen Ideale und Zwecke sagen. Präziser: Beim Vergleich von Notizen (mehr waren es ja nicht) über die jetzt noch erhaltenen Augsburger Handschriften, also von der Verkaufsliste des Eparchos mit dem Bibliothekskatalog von Wolf, springt in die Augen, daß Eparchos über materielle Eigenschaften eigentlich mehr Informationen gibt als Wolf. So meldet er z.B. wieviele Handschriften aus Pergament bestehen oder gibt als Notiz mit, daß ein Manuskript βιβλίον ἄριστον (Wolf-Nr. 17) oder sogar βιβλίον ἄριστον καὶ σπανιώτατον (Eparchos-Nr. 95) ist. Das läßt sich verstehen: Eparchos wollte seine Bücher verkaufen, und zwar zum bestmöglichen Preis.

Wolf hingegen schweigt sich über die Äußerlichkeiten aus, gibt aber Bemerkungen zu früheren oder zeitgenössischen Benutzern — nicht aus antiquarischen Interessen, aber um das Gewicht eines einzelnen Textes oder ein Arbeitsvorhaben zu melden; er äußert sich zu Autorenfragen und berichtet einmal eine Zuschreibung (vgl. Wolf-Nr. 57). Wolf scheint als Ziel verfolgt zu haben, seinen Kollegen, dem Gelehrtenkreis in dieser Anfangsperiode der Byzantinistik in den deutschen Ländern, bekannt zu machen, was überhaupt vorhanden war. Das kann auch die gewisse (aber nicht beabsichtigte) Unordnung der Präsentation erklären; der Katalog war mehr gedacht als 'Fundgrube' denn als Nachschlagewerk einer gut organisierten, systematisch eingeteilten Sammlung. Das Verzeichnis war also ein wissenschaftliches und kein bibliothekarisches Hilfsmittel.

Ein Bedarf an griechischen Texten existierte im 16. Jahrhundert, und verschiedene Sammler, sowohl institutionell verankerte wie Privatpersonen, besorgten sich legal (Kauf) oder illegal wo immer möglich Handschriften und Drucke. Auch den Fuggern, um im süddeutschen Raum zu bleiben, war ein solches Anliegen nicht fremd, wobei zu bedenken ist, daß gerade Wolf von 1551 bis 1557 deren Bibliothekar gewesen war. Wie schon Lehmann (1956-60, I, passim) betonte,

wurde im großen Stile abgeschrieben, und dies eben auch in Augsburg. Das diese städtische Sammlung hier zu Diensten war, spricht für sich: die Handschrift mit den Capitula miscellanea des Theodoros Metochites (jetzt Wien, ÖNB, Hs. 2836) geht vermutlich auf den vormaligen Augsburger Codex München graec. 402 (Wolf-Nr. 107) zurück (Lehmann 1956-60, I, 209-10).

Andererseits war in allen größeren Bibliotheken die Kenntnis vorhanden, wie Kataloge zu erstellen seien. Erinnert sei nur an die päpstlichen Sammlungen und die der spanischen und französischen Herrscher. Wo erforderlich oder nützlich wurden gar zweisprachige Kataloge angefertigt, um den Benutzern einen probaten Zugang zu ermöglichen (vgl. Hermans 1976, 245, Anm. 33). Auch im Umkreis der Fugger waren derartige Wünsche vorhanden. So ist eine Anfrage von Fugger (1566) überliefert, in der er sich nach dem Stand der zweisprachigen Katalogisierung erkundigte. Die Antwort war deutlich: "Die Griechischen Buecher seind wol recht Inn Irer Sprach vnd Buechstaben In Iren Buechern vnd Indicibus eingeschrieben ... Theologie genvgend ... aber die vbrigen was gar klain und vnordentlich geschriben, muessen corrigirt vnd von Neuem abgeschrieben werden" (nach Hartig 1917, 320; Hermans 1976, 245, Anm. 34). Damit wird deutlich: Eine Bibliothekserschließung an Ort und Stelle, so wie sie auch im 16. Jahrhundert schon halbwegs bekannt war, wurde mit der Veröffentlichung von 1575 nicht beabsichtigt. Sie war ein Instrument, um die Texte bekannt zu machen.

Abschließend kann resümiert werden, daß der Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Stadt Augsburg in der Tat als Werbung gemeint war, wobei die für uns heute sichtbaren Mängel nicht als solche erfahren wurden. Die Eingangsfrage, ob Kenney recht hatte mit seiner apodiktischen Formulierung, daß der Katalog keinem wissenschaftlichen Zwecke dienen wollte, kann also ablehnend beantwortet werden. Das Buch zielte auf den Gelehrten, ohne selbst ein gelehrtes Werk sein zu wollen. Es war eine Art 'Mitteilungsblatt'. Ein Nebeneffekt — ob beabsichtigt oder eher zufällig avisiert mag dem Betrachter überlassen bleiben — kann nicht geleugnet werden: Augsburg war damit 'eine Reise wert'.

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<A1r> CATALOGUS/ GRAECORUM/ LIBRORUM, MANU SCRIPTO/RUM, AUGUSTANAE BIBLIOTHECAE: QUEM,/ ea Respublica, ideo edendum curavit: ut eos,/ vel viris doctis interpretandos: vel diligenti/bus typographis, conferendos, (modo de/ ijs sartis tectis suo tempore restitu/endis, caveant) ad augenda rei/ literariae commoda, com/municaret./ [Vignette, mit Buchstaben A und V]/ AUGUSTAE VINDELICO/rum, ex officina Michaëlis/ Mangeri./ ANNO M.D.LXXV.

<A2r> INDEX GRAE/CORUM LIBRORUM, AUGU/stanae Bibliothecae: quorum nonnulli, an/tehac, ex ea publicati sunt: nonnulli,/ nec Graece, nec Latine, ha/ctenus editi.

- 1 Evangelia dominicalia cum glossis,/ maiusculis descripta literis.
- 2 Io. Chrysostomi./ De opificio sex dierum sermo/nes 35.
- 3 Commentarij in Genesin.
- 4.5 Duo volumina commentariorum in Mat/thaeum, (alter tomus abest) initium eorum qui/ adsunt: Vobis datum est nosse mysteria, &c.
- 6 Gregorij Nysseni aliquot opera.
- 7 Sermones 35. in Epistolas & Evangelia,/ Chrysostomi ne, an aliorum non satis constat.
- 8 Io. Chrysostomi./ Interpretatio Actorum Apostolicorum ser/mones. 55.
- 9 In epistolas Pauli ad Ephesios & Titum.
- 10 In epistolas Paulinas ab hoc initio: Non mul/ti sapientes secundum carnem. Ultima est epi/stola ad Galatas./ Vita Ioan: Eleemonis, a Leontio, Neapolis Cy/priae Episcopo descripta.
- <A2v>
- 11 In epistolam ad Hebraeos homiliae 34.

1 Es betrifft eine diplomatische Ausgabe, mit Angabe vom Zeilenübergang (/); U und V wurden dem modernen Gebrauch angepaßt (VV blieb erhalten); Abkürzungen wurden stillschweigend aufgelöst (q3 > que, e-caudata > ae, e mit Titulus wurde em oder en, m mit Titulus wurde mm).

Übersicht nach der Reihenfolge bei Wolf (1575), mit Angabe ob diese Hs. über Eparchos (1544/1545) nach Augsburg gekommen ist (E), des angeblichen Alters (wo möglich nach den neuesten Einsichten, übrigens nach Weinberger oder, wo keine sonstigen Informationen vorhanden sind, nach Hardt) und den heutigen Signaturen in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München, mit Kurztitel unter Berücksichtigung des Katalogs von Ignatz Hardt (1810, 1812).

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|----|----|----------|-----|---|
| 1 | ? | ix | 383 | Evangelia dominicalia cum glossis, maiusculis (Hardt, IV, 187-8). |
| 2 | E? | x | 378 | Chrysostomos, In Genesim homiliae 1-33 (Hardt, IV, 128-30; Carter, 68, Nr. 81). |
| 3 | E? | xi | 379 | Chrysostomos, In Genesim homiliae (Hardt, IV, 130-1; Carter, 69, Nr. 82). |
| 4 | E | x | 365 | Chrysostomos, In Matthaum homiliae. Vol. 1 (Hardt, IV, 75-6: 11. Jh.; Carter, 65, Nr. 77). |
| 5 | E | xi | 424 | Chrysostomos, In Matthaum homiliae. Vol. 2 (Hardt, IV, 312-4; er bemerkt dazu: '1 abest'; vgl. aber Nr. 4, oben; Carter, 71-2, Nr. 86). |
| 6 | E? | x | 370 | Gregor von Nyssa, Aliquot opera (Hardt, IV, 92-101). |
| 7 | E? | xiii | 474 | Chrysostomos, Eclogae et al. (Hardt, V, 2-4; Carter, 74-5, Nr. 91). |
| 8 | E | xiii/xiv | 348 | Chrysostomos, In Acta Apostolorum homiliae (Hardt IV, 3-6: 10. Jh.; Carter, 60-1, Nr. 70) |
| 9 | E | x | 353 | Chrysostomos, In epistolas Pauli ad Ephesios et Titum (Hardt, IV, 20-2; Carter, 63, Nr. 73). |
| 10 | E | x | 373 | Leontios von Neapolis (auf Kypros), Leben des Patriarchen Johannes des Barmherzigen (Eleëmon) (CCHG, 127; vgl. A.J. Festugière und Lennart Rydén [Hgg.], <i>Leontios de Neapolis, Vie de Symeon le Fou et vie de Jean de Chypre</i> , Paris 1974, 254-637 [Institut Français ... Beyrouth, Bibliothèque arch. et hist. 95]); Chrysostomos, In epistolam Pauli, Corinthios et ad Galatas (Hardt, IV, 104-6; Carter, 66, Nr. 79). |
| 11 | E | x | 356 | Chrysostomos, In epistolam Pauli ad Hebraeos homiliae 34 (aus dem Mangana-Kloster, wo Johannes Kantakouzenos Mönch war; vgl. Hardt, IV, 29-31; Carter, 64-5, Nr. 75). |

12	In epistolam ad Romanos Catena.
13	Io. Chrysostomi sermones 31. inscripti Mar/garitae, adversus Inaequales, & Iudaeos de Aca/talepto. De sacerdotio apologiae. Contra/ ebrios. De lazaro, De defunctis./ De vidua deligenda, De bono ordine. In E/saiam: Vidi dominum sedentem in throno. In/ 1. paralip. Elatum est cor Oziae.
14	In Evangelium Ioannis ab homilia 49. usque/ ad 86.
15	In epistolas & Evangelia magnae hebdoma/dis, continens epistolam ad Romanos, Galatas,/ Colossenses, Thessalonicenses, Titum: sive/ Chrysostomi sit opus hoc, sive Theophylacti./ Chrysostomus in Evangelium de ficu.
16	Ioannis Episcopi Hierosolymitani Cateche/sis mystagogica. Ignatij Martyris epistolae 12.
17	Cyrilli Dialogi. (His vtitur Coloniae Bona/ventura Vulcanius.)
18	Gregorij Nazanzeni (!) sermones decem cum/ declaratione.
19	Eiusdem sermones 13.
20	Io. Chrysostomi sermones diversi 35. &/
21	Sermones 34.
22	Gregorij Theologi sermones 15. & arcana./ Concilia oecumenica. Nicetae qui & David, Phi/losophi, explicatio tetrastichorum theologi.
23	Theophylactus, in Lucam & Marcum, & in/
24	Paulinas epistolas.
25	Gregorius, Papa Romanus.
26	Gregorij Nazanzeni (!) sermones 32.
27	Basilij Magni sermones 46.
28	Basilius contra Eunomium, & Amphilo/chium./Definitiones Theologicae./ G. Nysseni oratio de defunctis.

12	?	xiii	412	Chrysostomos, In epistolam Pauli ad Romanos Catena (Hardt, IV, 269-70). Der Text gehört zum 'Typus Monacensis' (vgl. José H. Declerck, <i>Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones et Dubia</i> , Turnhout/Leuven 1982 [CCSG 10] cci).
13	E	xi	354	Chrysostomos, Sermones diversae (Hardt, IV, 22-7; Carter, 63-4, Nr. 74).
14	E	x	386	Chrysostomos, In Iohannem homiliae (48 usque ad 88) (Hardt, IV, 198-200; Carter, 69-70, Nr. 83).
15	E	xv	455	Chrysostomos, In parabolam de ficu, in Matthaeum homiliae (Carter, 72, Nr. 87) Theophylaktos?, In epistolas et evangelia magnae hebdomadis. Kolophon nach Hebr.: 17. Februar, Indiktion 18; kein Jahr (Hardt, IV, 413-6).
16	E	x	394	Johannes, Bischof von Jerusalem, Catechesis mystagogica; Ignatius Martyr, Epistolae 12 (Hardt, IV, 221-6).
17	E	xi	398	Kyrrillos, Dialoge. In dieser Hs. befinden sich Marginalien von Vulcanius, der 1605 eine Ausgabe besorgte (vgl. Hardt, IV, 230-2).
18	E	xii	368	Gregor von Nazianz, Sermones 10 cum declaratione (Hardt, IV, 88-91).
19	E	x	421	Gregor von Nazianz, Sermones 13 (Hardt, IV, 308-11).
20	E	xi	352	Chrysostomos, Sermones diversi 35 (Carter, 61-3, Nr. 72; vgl. M. Aubineau, "Textes chrysostomiens récupérés dans le codex athonite Pantocrator 22", in: <i>Vetera Christianorum</i> 12 (1975) 317-23).
21	E	x	352?	Chrysostomos, Sermones 34 (vgl. Nr. 20).
22	E	xii/xiv	484	Gregorios Theologos, Sermones 15 & arcana concilia (Hardt, V, 46-51).
23	E	xii	465	Theophylaktos, In Lucam & Marcum (Hardt, IV, 440-2).
24	E	xiv	504	Theophylaktos, In Paulinas epistolas (datiert: 1.2.1387; Hardt, V, 208-11).
25	?	xiii	464	Gregorios Papa, 'Εκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου πάπα Πώμης (CCHG 133, Nr. 168); add. <i>Konstantinos Laskaris, 1490</i> ; (vgl. Gamillscheg, Nr. 223; Hardt, IV, 437-40: Haupthand 10. Jh.).
26	E?	xi	448	Gregor von Nazianz, Sermones 32 (Hardt, IV, 394-403).
27	E	xi	357?	Basileios, Sermones 46 (Hardt, IV, 31-40).
28	E	xiii	466	Definitiones Theologicae; Gregor von Nyssa, Oratio de defunctis; Basileios, Contra Eunomium & Amphiloichium (vgl. Walter Martin Hayes, <i>The Greek Manuscript Tradition of (Ps.) Basil's Adversus Eunomium Books IV-V</i> , Leiden 1972; diese Hs., aus dem 13. Jh., enthält eine Kontaminierung von α und β).

29	Basilij liber de opificio 6. dierum, qui vis legi/ potest./ Gregorius Nyssenus de homine.
30	Basilij M. epistolae.
31	Hesychius in 12. Prophetas./ Ioannes sextus Constantinopolitanus archie/piscopus in Susannam & Danielelem.
32	Scholia in 4. Evangelistas.
33	Symeon Metaphrastes de sanctis mense No/vembri.
34	Enarratio Psalterij, Didymi, Theodoreti &/ aliorum.
35	Psalterium cum enarratione./ Catalogus sermonum Chrysostomi. Liber de/ anima (Nysseni fortasse).
36	Iosua, Iudices, Ruth, Reges.
37	Procopius in Moysen, Reges, & Paralipo/mena.
<A3v> 38	Enarrationes Actorum, epistolarum Pauli/narum atque Apostolicarum.
39	Gregorius Theologus in Iosua, Iudices,/ Ruth, Libri Regum, Tobias.
40	Sybillina oracula, (Haec Basileae copiosius/ edita sunt.)/ Theodoreti in obscuriora scripturae loca. (Est/ hic Luteciae editus.)
41	Ἰατρικὸν, Quaestiones a S. patribus explicatae.
42	Maximi centuriae./ Damasceni definitiones siue Categoriae, & de/ orthodoxa fide./ Gregorij Nysseni de Anima dialogus.
43	De annunciatione & obdormitione Deiparae, sermones Andreae Hierosolymitae Cretensis/ Antipatri Bostrensis./ Gregorij Thaumaturgi./ G. Neocaesariensis./ Germani Constantinop./ Basilij, Georgij chartophylacis, Amphiloichij,/ Antipatri, Chrysostomi.
44	Symeon Metaphrastes de sanctis mense Maio.
45	B. Maximi variarum quaestionum explicationes./ De paschate.

29	E	xiv	570	Gregor von Nyssa, De homine; Basileios, De opificio 6 dierum (Hardt, V, 460-2).
30	E	xii	497	Basileios, Epistolae (Hardt, IV, 169-80).
31	E	xi	472	Hesychios, In 12 Prophetas; Iohannes VI. Patriarch von Konstantinopel, In Susannam & Danielelem (Hardt, IV, 458-60; CCHG, 134, Nr. 170; Carter, 74, Nr. 90).
32	E	xiii	381	Scholia in 4. Evangelistas (vgl. Nr. 50; Hardt, IV, 183-6).
33	E	xi	364	Symeon Metaphrastes, De sanctis (1.-13. November), Chrysostomos. Hs. aus dem 11. Jh. (Hardt, IV, 70-4; CCHG, 122-3; vgl. Lehmann 1956, 113-4; Carter, 65, Nr. 76).
34	E	x/xi	359	Didymos; Theodoreti (CCHG, 122). (vgl. Marcel Richard, "Les Manuscrits de la Chaine du Type VI sur les Psaumes", in: <i>Revue d'histoire des Textes</i> 3 [1973] 19-38). Auch: M. Richard, <i>Opera minora</i> , Turnhout/Leuven [1976]-1977, 3. Bde. Bd. III, Nr. 71 (nicht paginiert!), 25: "Le codex ... est un manuscrit de grand luxe" (mit ausführlicher Beschreibung); Blätter 1-80 (Anfang) bieten Hagiographica aus dem 11. Jh.; es fehlt aber ein Teil und auch sonst sind verschiedene Bindefehler nachweisbar. 26: Weitere Datierung: Ende 10., Anfang 11. Jh. 31: Diese Hs. ist eine direkte Kopie des Baroccianus 235 (Oxford), aus dem 9./10 Jh.
35	E	xii	478	Psalterium cum enarratione; Chrysostomos, Catalogus sermonum; Gregor von Nyssa?, Liber de anima (Hardt, V, 21-4).
36	?	x	454	Bibel: Iosua, Iudices, Ruth, Reges (Hardt, IV, 413).
37	E	ix	358	Prokopios von Gaza, In Moysen, Reges, & Paralipomena (scr: <i>Iohannes Notarios</i> ; VG 204 [mit Zweifel]; nicht bei Gamillscheg). (Hardt, IV, 40-1).
38	?	x	375	Paulos, Epistolae (Hardt, IV, 108-19).
39	?	xi	372	Gregor von Nazianz, In Iosua, Iudices, Ruth, Reges, Tobias (Hardt, IV, 102-4).
40	E	xi	351	Sybillinische Orakel. Möglicherweise wurde gedeutet auf X. Betullius (Hg.), <i>Sibyllinorum oraculorum libri octo, nuncque primum in lucem editi</i> , Basel, Oporin, März 1545 (in Quarto) oder S. Castalion (Übers.), <i>Sibyllina Oracula</i> , Basel, Oporin, Aug. 1546 (in Octavo; Adams, S-1059 und S-1060). Theodoreti, In obscuriora Scripturae loca. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich hier um I. Picus (Hg.), <i>Εἰς τὰ ἄπορα τῆς θείας γραφῆς κατ' ἐκλογὴν</i> , Parisiis, ex officina Iacobi Puteani, 1558 (Adams T-491). — (vgl. Weinberger, 307, Anm. 3).
41	E	xiii	444	Iatrikon (Hardt, IV, 385-90).
42	E	xiii/xiv	438	Maximus Confessor et al. (Hardt, IV, 356-8).
43	E	xii/xiii	393	Sammlung Mariologischer Texte (Weinberger: 11. Jh.; CCHG, 128-9, Nr. 163; Carter, 70, Nr. 84; vgl. Roberto Caro, <i>La Homiletica Mariana Griega en el siglo V</i> , Dayton [Ohio] 1971-73 [3 Bde]).
44	E	ix	366	Symeon Metaphrastes, De sanctis (1.-11. Mai), Chrysostomos. (vgl. François Halkin, "La passion inédite de S. Olbianos évêque d'Anaea", in: <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> 93 [1975] 29-37; CCHG [123-6, Nr. 160] und Carter [66, Nr. 78] datieren die Hs. ins 10. Jh., Hardt [IV, 76-87] und Weinberger sogar ins 11. Jh.).
45	E	xii	363	Maximus Confessor et al. (Hardt, IV, 56-70). Carl Laga und Carlos Steel (Hgg.), <i>Maximi confessoris, Quaestiones ad Thalassium I-LV</i> , Turnhout/Leuven 1980 (CCSG 7) li-liv (Beschreibung); Peter van Deun (Hg.), <i>Maximi confessoris opuscula exegetica duo</i> , Turnhout/Leuven 1991 (CCSG 23), xxxi-xxxii (Beschreibung) und passim.

46	Basilius in Esaia.
47	Dogmatica panoplia.
48	Philonis orationes 38. (Hic autor Luteciae/ est editus).
< A4r > 49	Sermones variorum autorum./ Andreae Cretensis./ Damasceni./ Martyria complurium sanctorum./ Inventio S. crucis, & aliae historiolarum nescio quae./ Antipater Bostrensis de conceptione Io. Bapti./ Cosmae, Vestitoris, Photij, Leonis Imp./ Ioasaph.
50	Variorum enarrationes in 4. Evangelia.
51	'Απομνημονεύματα diversorum Theologorum,/ ποιηtarum, & Philosophorum. (Haec Tiguri/ sunt edita: sed exempla nulla supersunt.)
52	Anastasij Sinaitae capita 24./ Anastasij Theopolitani archiepiscopi, narratio/ Actorum in perfide./ De 6. oecumenicis concilijs. Vita Theodori/ Studiti.
53	Cassianus Abbas de vita monastica & monachis.
54	Diversorum orationes 12. (videntur aut esse/ acta concilij alicuius, aut vitae patrum).
55	Enarratio in Iob, & alia fortasse.
56	Symeonis presbyteri sermones, &, hymni/ Iambici.
57	Io. Monachi disputatio inter corpus & animam. (Eiusdem argumenti opusculum est, Luteciae editum nomine Gregorij Palamae.)
58	Epitome Stromatum Clementis.
< A4v > 59	Vita S. Andreae & alia fortasse.
60	Blemmidae paraphraseos in Aristotelem lib. 12
61	Thucydides cum scholijs.

46	E	x	395	Basileios, In Iesaiam (Hardt, IV, 226-8).
47	E	xiii	367	Zigabenos (vgl. Reginald P. Winnington-Ingram, "Two studies in Greek Musical Notation", in: <i>Philologus</i> 122 [1978] 237-48).
48	E	xiii	459	Philo (vgl. Madeleine Petit [Hg.], <i>Philon d' Alexandrie, Quod omnis probus liber sit</i> , Paris 1974). Wolf deutete wahrscheinlich auf eine Ausgabe aus 1552 (vgl. Adams P-1033)33).
49	E?	xiii/xv	443	Predigten, für den 10.-30. September (Teilweise datiert und signiert von Leo Georgios, Samstag 3.4.1462; CCHG, 130-2, Nr. 166) und für den 1.-30. Oktober (Hardt, IV, 371-85; vgl. Nr. 54).
50	—	xiii	473	Niketas et al. (Hardt, V, 1-2).
51	E	xiv	429	Antonios & Maximus Monachos, Sententiae. <i>Scr.</i> : Νικηφόρος ἁμαρτωλὸς ἱερεὺς, 13.7.1346; (Hardt, IV, 320-36; VG S. 342; nicht bei Gamillscheg). Bemerkenswert ist daß von der Ausgabe aus Zürich schon 1575 keine Exemplare mehr erhalten waren.
52	E	xi	467	Theologische Mischhandschrift, darunter (auf fol. 1-127v) Anastasius Sinaita et al. (Hardt, IV, 446-50; CCHG, 133, Nr. 169; vgl. Karl-Heinz Uthemann, <i>Anastasii Sinaitae Viae Dux</i> , Turnhout/Leuven 1981 [CCSG 8] xxxii).
53	?	x/xii	498	Asketisch-theologische Schriften (<i>scr.</i> : 'Ιωάννης μοναχὸς ἁμαρτωλὸς καὶ ταπεινός) (Hardt, V, 180-200; VG 205; CCHG, 135, Nr. 172; vgl. K. Mitsakis, "Symeon metropolitan of Euchaita and the Byzantine ascetic ideals in the eleventh century", in: <i>Byzantina</i> 2 [1970] 301-34: Diese Hs. enthält den Text als Palimpsest [12. Jh.], über einem Menaion mit Canones, wovon hier die ersten zwei herausgegeben und übersetzt werden).
54	?	xiii	443?	Vgl. oben, bei Nr. 49; seitdem zusammengebunden?
55	E	xiii	488	Iob et al. (Hardt, V, 65-68).
56	E	xv	526	Symeon. <i>Dat.</i> : 25.6.1453 (Hardt, V, 316-7).
57	E	xv	522	Dioptra. <i>Dat.</i> : 27.7.1440 (Hardt, V, 282-5). Wolf deutet hier wahrscheinlich auf die Ausgabe <i>Per fictionem personarum orationes due iudiciales</i> , Parisii, ex Adriani Turnebi officina (excudebat Guilielmus Morelius), Non. Octobr. 1553 (vgl. Adams P-68).
58	E?	xv	470?	Theokritos (Hardt, IV, 454-7).
59	—	xiv	552	Vita des Andreas Salos et al. (CCHG, 141, Nr. 178; vgl. Lennart Rydén, "The Vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the Feast of Pokrov", in: <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> 94 [1976] 63-82).
60	E	xvi	400	Nikephoros Blemmydes, In categorias (siehe aber W. Lackner, "Zum Lehrbuch der Physik des Nikephoros Blemmydes", in: <i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i> 4 [1972] 157-69, bes. 158).
61	E	x/xi/xiii	430	Thukydides (vgl. Alexander Kleinlogel, <i>Geschichte des Thukydides im Mittelalter</i> , Berlin 1965, passim [Sigle F]; <i>Cimelia Monacensia. Wertvolle Handschriften und frühe Drucke der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München</i> , Wiesbaden [1970], 21-2 [Nr. 18], Tafel S. 57). Enthält Scholien, u.a. von Maximus Planudes (Mariarosa Formentin, "La grafia di Massimo Planude", in: <i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> 32/4 [1982] 87-96); die Hs. wurde von Theodora Raoulina Paleologina (um 1240-6.12.1300) dem Planudes geschenkt; vgl. Sokrates Kugeas, "Zur Geschichte der Münchener Thukydides Handschrift Augustanus F", in: <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> 16 [1907] 588-607 und Philippe Hoffmann, "Une nouvelle reliure Byzantine au monogramme des Paléologues (Ambrosianus M 46 Sup. = Gr. 5R512)", in: <i>Scriptorium</i> 39 (1985) 274-81, bes. 279-80.

62	Polybij lib. 5. & epitomae 12. (Basileae edita)
63	Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri M. in/ Persas.
64	Opusculum nescio quod ad patrem./ Theodoreti curatio affectio- num a Christianis/mo abhorrentium./ Porphyrij ars Dialectica./ Fragmentum Musicum.
65	Nicetae Acominati historiae Byzantinae libri/ aliquot graeco- barbari. (Hos Alexander Char/tophylax Byzantinus, graece de- scripsit; VVol/fius convertit. [ohne Abschluß-Klammer])
66	Georgij Pachymerij historia Byzantinae, ini/tio & fine mutilata. Hinc VVol/fius excerpta/ quaedam Nicephoro Gregorae adiecit.
67	Pollucis onomasticon./ Excerpta ex Aeliani lib. 13. de animalibus./ Troiana historia./ 2. oratiunculae. Historiae./ Aesopi fabulae./ Ae- neae Rhetoris dialogus./ Theophrastus./ Apsimerius Rhetor de oratione nuptiali.
68	Ioan. Damasceni Philosophica, & de ortho/doxa fide.
<B1r> 69	Annae Comneniae Caesarissae, Fragmentum/ historicum Alexia- dos.

62	E	xv	388	Polybios (Hardt, IV, 200-2). Diese Hs. ist ein wichtiger Text- zeuge für Buch V (vgl. John M. Moore, <i>The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius</i> , Cambridge 1965, 16-7, 59; P. Pédech und Raymond Weil (Hgg.), <i>Polybe, Histoire, Livre V, VI</i> , Paris 1977). Wolf deutete mit Sicherheit auf die Ausgabe <i>Libri priores quinque. Tr. N. Perottus. Epitome sequentium librorum. Tr. W. Musculus</i> , Basileae, per Ioannem Heruagium, Mar. 1549 (vgl. Adams, P- 1803) weil eine einschlägige Bemerkung auf dem Vorsatzblatt steht (gedruckt bei Moore, 17).
63	E	xv	451	Arrianos, 'Ανάβασις 'Αλεξάνδρου. Scr.: <i>Manuel Tzykandyles</i> , 1370 (vgl. A.G. Roos (Hg.), <i>Flavii Arriani quae extant omnia</i> , Leipzig 1967, xxvi-xxvii, und Gamillscheg I, 140, Nr. 255 — wo übrigens diese Hs. nicht erwähnt wird, wohl aber bei VG 281; Siehe übrigens: Ruth Barbour, <i>Greek Literary Hands AD 400- 1600</i> , Oxford 1981, 29 und Tafel 104, wo derselbe oder ein Namensbruder am 7.4.1462 figuriert).
64	E	xii/xiii	487	Diverse Texte (Hardt, IV, 61-5). Eine Abschrift von dieser Handschrift ist Augsburg, Ms. ccxiv (Weinberger, 308, Anm. 15).
65	E	xiv	450	Niketas Choniates, Χρονική διήγησις. (Beck 1971, 6; van Dieten, xxxiii-xxxiv; Hermans, 243, 246; Hunger, I, 432: Nicht, wie oft behauptet, eine einfache vulgärgriechische Paraphrase, sondern eine Mischung aus zwei Versionen). Auch diese Hs. wurde von Wolf benutzt für seine Editio princeps (Basel, 1557, apud (ex officina) Ioannem Oporinum; Adams N-225) (vgl. Hermans).
66	E	xiv	442	Georgios Pachymeres, Συγγραφικαὶ ἱστορίαι (Hardt, IV, 369- 71). Die Handschrift war — laut Wolfs Beschreibung — schon im 16. Jahrhundert in traurigem Zustand. Wolf hat angeblich am Anfang und Ende einiges aus Nikephoros Gregoras hinzugefügt. Der Codex enthält 4 Miniaturen (der Autor, Theodor Laskaris und Michael und Andronikos Palaiologos; vgl. Spatharakis, u.a. 165-71, figs. 106-110); sie sind aber beim Einbinden abgeschnit- ten, wurden andererseits teilweise restauriert. Die Hs. wurde im Jahre 1578 vom Tübinger Professor Martinus Crusius kopiert; die Miniaturen wurden von Christian Pfister nachgezeichnet (vgl. Spatharakis, 170).
67	E	xiv	564	Fabelsammlung 'Augustana' (vgl. Beck 1971, 30); Pollux, Tzetzes (vgl. P.A.M. Leone (Hg.), <i>Ioannis Tzetzae Historiae</i> , Neapel 1968; Beschreibung S. xix); Numenius et al. (vgl. Éd. des Places (Hg.), <i>Numenius, Fragments</i> , Paris 1974; über diese Hs.: 94).
68	E	xv	549	Johannes Damaskenos. Scr.: <i>Georgios Birgotis, 20.9.1490</i> . (Hardt, V, 370-2; VG 72; nicht bei Gamillscheg).
69	E	xv	355	Anna Komnene, Alexias (Epitome; vgl. Bernard Leib [Hg.], <i>Anne Comnène, Alexiade</i> , 3 Bde, Paris 1937-45; Index von Paul Gautier, Paris 1976). Beschreibung der Hs. bei Leib, Bd. I, clxxi).

70	Demosthenis orationes initio & fine mutilatae. (Ex his a Simone Fabricio excerpta, con/iuncta sunt cum Hieronymi VVolfij Demo/sthene.)
71	Aristides Rheior.
72	Platonis dialogi 22.
73	Galenus in Hippocratem de victu in morbis/ acutis de arte medica.
74	Aretaeus Cappadox medicus.
75	Dictionarium & sacrarum & profanarum/ literarum./ Catalogus patriarcharum & pontificum.
76	Demetrij Const. curatio accipitrum &/ canum.
77	Appiani Alexandrini historiae, quas claudit/ Illyrica.
78	Pauli Aeginetae & aliorum Medica.
79	Procli Diadochi Elementa Theologica &/ naturalia secundum Graecos./ Definitiones. Boetij Dialectica. Aristo/teles de coloribus & individujs lineis.
80	Moschion de muliebribus (!) morbis. Paulus/ Iatrosophista de fracturis./ Nicolai Sophiani astrolabium impressum.
81	Synesius, Phocylides.
<B1v> 82, 83, 84	Io. Climacis opus cum enarratione/ Heliae Cretensis.
85	Gregorij Theologi aliquot opera. De con/structione. Philosophiae introductio. Ma/ximi Planudis dialogus de Grammatica & Syn/taxi.
85[bis]	Definitio Barlaami./ Rhetoricum opusculum./ Grammaticae compendium./ Lexicon Cyrilli./ Opusculum de animalibus.
86	Nemesius Episcopus de natura hominis.
87	Euripidis fragmentum cum scholijs.

70	E	x	485	Demosthenes (vgl. Mervin R. Dilts, "Notes on Demosthenic Manuscripts containing scholia", in: <i>Prometheus</i> 5 [1979] 256-66). Hardt und Weinberger datierten diese Hs. ins 12. Jh. Wolf deutete wahrscheinlich auf eine der von ihm selber betreuten Ausgaben: H. Wolf (Hg.), <i>Demosthenis et Aeschinis opera Graecolatina</i> , Folio, Basileae, ex off. Hervagiana, per Eusebium Episcopium, (Mar.) 1572 (Adams P-268), <i>Opera omnia</i> (nur Latein), Folio, Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum, [ca. 1549] (Adams P-269) oder <i>Demosthenis & Aeschinis orationes atque epistolae</i> , Octavo, Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum. [ca. 1553] (Adams P-270). Laut Marcel Richard ("La recherche des textes hier et demain", in: D. Harlfinger [Hg.], <i>Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung</i> , Darmstadt, 1980, 3-13, hier 6) ist diese Hs. jetzt verloren, es existiert aber ein Microfilm.
71	E	xv	432	Aristeides (Hardt, IV, 337-47).
72	E	xv	408	Plato, Dialogi. Scr.: 'Αντώνιος Μεδίολανεύς Κρής τὸ γένος, Δαμυλῆς, 26.11.1490 (vgl. VG 32-4, diese Hs. 33; Gamillscheg I, 37-8, Nr. 22; Hardt [IV, 255-61] las übrigens das Kolophon falsch als 1590).
73	E	xiv	469	Galenos (Hardt, IV, 451-4).
74	E?	xv	350	Aretaios (Hardt, IV, 7-9).
75	E	xiv	510	(Pseudo) Zonaras, Lexikon (vgl. Mark Naoumides, "The Shorter version of Pseudo-Zonaras, Lexicon", in: John L. Heller [Hg.], <i>Serta Turyniana. Studies in Greek Literature and Palaeography in Honor of Alexander Turyn</i> , Urbana/Chicago/London 1974, 436-88: diese Hs. gehört zu der 'editio maior').
76	E	xv	390	Orneosophicus (Hardt, IV, 203-5).
77	E	xv	374	Appianos, 'Ρωμαϊκά, Römische Geschichte (Ausgabe u.a. von A.G. Roos, Leipzig 1905-39, berichtigt und ergänzt von E. Gabba, 1962). Es handelt sich hier evident um einen Passus über Alexander den Grossen.
78	E	xiii	489	Dioskurides et al. (Hardt, V, 68-71).
79	E	xv	502	Proklos et al. (Hardt, V, 209-12).
80	E	xvi	511	Moschios, De moribus mulierum (Hardt, V, 257-60).
81	E	xiii	476	Synesios (vgl. Christian Lacombrade [Hg.], <i>Synésios de Cyrène, I: Hymnes</i> , Paris 1978; basiert u.a. auf dieser Hs.: Sigle A, Familie α). (vgl. Nr. 89).
82	?	xiii	420	Johannes Klimax (oder Klimakos) (Hardt, IV, 305-8). Die Nr. 82-84 wurden 1575 als Einheit betrachtet; die zwei ersten Bände sind zwar auf Bombyzin geschrieben, der dritte aber auf Pergament (und ist datiert).
83	?	xiv	440	Johannes Klimax (Hardt, IV, 360-3 [datiert im 13. Jh.]; CCHG, 130, Nr. 165). (vgl. Nr. 82).
84	?	xiii	458?	Johannes Klimax. <i>Kolophon: 1273</i> . (Hardt, IV, 419-22; CCHG, 132-3, Nr. 167). (vgl. Nr. 82).
85	E	xiii/xiv	499	Sammelhandschrift, mit u.a. Gregorios (Hardt, V, 200-4; vgl. Daniel Donnet, <i>Le Traité περί συντάξεως λόγου de Grégoire de Corinthe. Étude de la tradition manuscrite, édition, traduction et commentaire</i> , Brüssel/Rome 1967, 108).
85bis	E	xiv/xv	505	Barlaam, 'Rhetor Monacensis' (vgl. Hunger I, 85: Hermogenes-Ausgabe des Maximus Planudes war Hauptquelle).
86	E?	xi	562	Nemesios et al. (Hardt, V, 424-6).
87	E	xiv	560	Euripides (vgl. Werner Biehl [Hg.], <i>Euripides, Orestes</i> , Leipzig 1975, basiert u.a. auf dieser Hs.). Hardt und Weinberger datierten diese Hs. im 13. Jh.

88	Blemmidae Philosophica & Dialectica ca/pita 41.
89	Synesij aliquot orationes./ Epitaphia Basilij Magni./ Declamationes (Aristidis fortasse.)
90	Aristotelis organum.
91	Aesopus. Symeonis Magistri fabulosa/ narratio. Dionysius de situ orbis. Prognosticon quod/dam./ Poëmata & oratiunculae.
92	Opusculum medicum./ Georgij Leccapeni (!) & aliorum Grammatica./ Ioan. Glycis Syntaxis./
<B2r>	Nicephori Gregorae Technologia Grammatica./ De spiritibus./ Epicteti fragmenta./ Carmina./ Declamationes nescio cuius./ N. Gregorae oratio.
93	Nicephori Blemmidae Logica.
94	Pyrrhoniae quaestiones, Sexti Empirici./ Mathematicum fragmentum./ Theon in magnum opus Ptolomei.
95	Dioscurides de parabilibus medicamentis,/ ad Andromachum. (Hunc conversum edidit/ D. Ioan. Moibanus.)
96	Pselli Dioptra.
97	D. Chrysostomi sermones, quae statuae inscri/buntur & alia.
98	Codex synodicus & iuridicus.
99	Nonus Medicus. (Hunc conversum edidit,/ D. Ieremias Martius.) Simeon Sethi./ Actuarius de urinis.
100	Methodius in Apocalysim.
101	Eustathius de Hysmine & Hysminia.
102	Chrysostomi epistolae ad Olympiadem &/ alia quaedam.
103	Chronicon Io. Glycae.
104	Barlaami narratio de interiore Aethiopia seu/ India.
<B2v>	Damascenus de haeresibus & alia quaedam.
106	Theodoretus in 150. Psalmos.

88	E	xv	520	Nikephoros Blemmydes (Hardt, V, 279-80).
89	Ex	v	515	Synesios (vgl. oben, Nr. 81).
90	E	xiii	475	Aristoteles, Organon (Hardt, V, 4-6).
91	?	xiv	525	Aesopos (vgl. Beck 1971, 30), Andreopulos (a.a.O., 47,48), Planudes, Andreas Libadenos (Autograph, um 1355; CCHG, 138-9, Nr. 174; vgl. Hunger 1978, I, 518; François Halkin, "André Libadénos et ses opuscles hagiographiques", in: <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> 94 [1976] 22: diese Hs. ist einziger Textzeuge für drei Gedichte über die Geburt Mariae).
92	E	xiv	529	Diverse Texte, darunter Georgios Lekapenos, Nikephoros Gregoras (vgl. P.L.M. Leone, "Per l'edizione critica dell'epistolario di Niceforo Gregora", in: <i>Byzantion</i> 46 [1976] 13-47) und Patriarch Johannes XIII. Glykys (1315-1319; vgl. Stavros Io. Kourousios, in: 'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 41, 1974, 297-405).
93	?	xiv	516	Nikephoros Blemmydes, Περὶ λογικῆς. (Hardt, V, 274-5).
94	E	xiv/xv	439	Pyrrhoniae Institutionum libri III, Griechische Übersetzung von Maximus Planudes der Commenta von Macrobius auf das Somnium Scipionis et al. (Hardt, IV, 358-60; vgl. Agostino Pertusi, "L'Omero inviato al Petrarca da Nicola Sigerio ambasciatore e letterato Bizantino", in: <i>Mélanges Eugène Tisserant</i> , III, Città del Vaticano, 1964, 113-39, diese Hs. 123-31, mit Tavola III [Fol. 65r]).
95	E	xv	389	Dioskurides (Hardt, IV, 202-3). Wolf deutete hier wahrscheinlich auf J. Moibanus & C. Gesner (Hg.), 'Ευπόρισται; hoc est de curatione morborum per medicamenta paratu facilia, Octavo, Argentorati, excud. Iosias Rihelius, 1565. (vgl. Adams D-659).
96	?	xv	509	Psellos et al. (Hardt, V, 242-9).
97	?	xi	349	Chrysostomos, Ad populum Antiochenum homiliae et al. (Hardt, IV, 6-7; Carter, 61, Nr. 71).
98	?	xiv	380	Eine Menge sehr unterschiedlicher Texte (568 fol.!: Hardt, IV, 131-83).
99	?	xvi	362	Diverse medizinische Texte (Hardt, IV, 50-6). Wolf deutete auf Hieremias Martius (Übers.), <i>Nonnus Theophanes, De omnium particularium morborum curatione. Gr. & Lat</i> , Octavo, Argentorati, excud. Iosias Rihelius, 1568 (vgl. Adams N-332).
100	?	xiv	544?	Methodios über die Apokalypse (Hardt, V, 359-60).
101	?	xv	403?	Theon Smyrnaeos, Mathematica, Psellos, der sehr beliebte Roman von Eustathios, et al. (Hardt, IV, 247-9).
102	?	xiii/xiv	416	Chrysostomos, Epistolae, Ad Olympiadem et al. (Carter, 70-1, Nr. 85; vgl. P. Nicolopoulos, Αἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον ἐσφαλμένως ἀποδιδόμεναι ἐπιστολαί, Athen 1973: diese Hs. [auf Papier, aus dem 14. Jh.] war im Besitz von Sambucus und war Vorlage für Hs. Brüssel, KB, Ms. 2102-2103).
103	—	xvi	434	Michael Glykas, Βιβλος χρονική. (Bemerkung von Hardt: "scriptus a Nicolao Choniate, cuius manum ex cod. 139 novi"). Zu dem Schreiber: Gamillscheg, I, Nr. 321 (wo diese HS. nicht erwähnt wird). Eine der wichtigsten Handschriften dieses Textes (vgl. Hunger I, 422-6).
104	E	xv	490	Pythagoras, Michael Psellos, et al. (Hardt, V, 142-3; vgl. L.G. Westerink (Hg.), <i>Michael Psellus, De omnifaria doctrina. Critical text and introduction</i> , Utrecht 1948, 9).
105	?	xiii	503	Johannes Damaskenos (Hardt, V, 212-8).
106	?	xv	527	Theodoretos (Hardt, V, 317-8).

107	Theodori Metochitae capita Philosophica &/ historica 120.
108	Procli libri 4. de Theologia Platonis.
109	Chrysostomi enarratio in epistolam ad Thess./ Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos./ Epistolae 7. de legibus naturae./ Clemens de Petri praedicationibus, & Martyrium Clementis./ D. Ephraim, Archiepiscopus Chersonis, de miraculo Clementis, & Martyrium S. Basilij.
110	Chrysostomi in epistolam ad Romanos sermones 40.
111	Libanij rhetoris plurimae orationes & declamationes. (Has Simon Fabricius convertendas/ suscepit.)
112	Opus contra Barlaamum & Acindynum/ de divina gratia.
113	Nemesius de natura hominis./ Procli institutio Physica./ Ptolemaei opera astronomica cum Theonis/ commentariis.
114	Hermogenes de inventione cum commentariis.
115	Harmonica Ptolemaei.
116	Glycae explicatio obscurorum locorum sacrae scripturae. (Hunc M. Georgius Mylius edet in publicum.)
117	Syngeli (!) historiae ab exordio Mundi usque ad Heraclonem/ Heraclij F.
118	David Philosophus in 5. porphyrij voces & Categorias Aristotelis.
119	David Philosophus in Logica Aristotelis.
120	Aristidis Quintiliani Musica.
121	Pediasimus (!) de dimensione terrae.
122	Diadochi, Photicae Epiri episcopi, capita illuminantia.

107	?	xv	402	Theodoros Metochites, Capitula miscellanea (Hardt, IV, 246-7; eine Abschrift jetzt in Wien, ÖNB, Ms. 2836; vgl. Lehmann 1956-60, I, 209-10).
108	?	xv	413+433	Proklos, εἰς τὴν πλάτωνος θεολογίαν, Teil 1. und 2 (Hardt, IV, 270-1 bzw. 347).
109	?	x	377	Chrysostomos, In epistolas Pauli homiliae (Hardt, IV, 121-8; CCHG, 127-8; Carter, 67-8, Nr. 80. Besitzvermerk des Stoudios-Klosters zu Konstantinopel).
110	?	ix	457	Chrysostomos, In epistolam ad Romanos argumentum et homiliae (Hardt, IV, 416-9; Carter, 72-3, Nr. 88).
111	?	x/xi	483	Libanios. (Hardt, V, 43-6; Jean Martin und Paul Petit (Hgg.), <i>Libanios, Discours Tome I, Autobiographie (Discours I). Texte</i> , Paris 1979. Sehr ausgedehnte Beschreibung auf 52-9, mit Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Bogenfolge). Aus dem Besitz des Thomas Kantakouzenos (15. Jh.). Über eine Übersetzung von Simon Fabricius ist nichts bekannt, dieser war übrigens Wolfs Nachfolger als Augsburger Stadtbibliothekar (1571-1593).
112	?	xiv	508	David (Hardt, V, 231-42).
113	?	xiv	419	Nemesios (Hardt, IV, 300-5). Nota Bene: in der Beschreibung von Joseph Mogenet ([Hg.], <i>Le 'Grand commentaire' de Théon d'Alexandrie aux tables faciles de Ptolémée, Livre I, Histoire du Texte, édition critique, traduction, Revues et complétées par Anne Tihon, Commentaire par Anne Tihon, Città del Vaticano 1985 [Studi e Testi 315]</i>), wird eine andere Erwerbungs-geschichte gegeben (14-6): Die Hs. sollte über Mannheim — und nicht Augsburg — nach München geraten sein.
114	?	xvi	376	Matthaios Kamariotes, In Hermogenem (Hardt, IV, 119-21).
115	?	xv	385	Ptolemaios, Harmonica (Hardt, IV, 197-8).
116	?	xv	415	Michael Glykas, Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς θείας γραφῆς (Hardt, IV, 273-7; I. Eustratiades, Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Γλαυκᾶ εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς θείας γραφῆς κεφάλαια I, Athen 1906). Über eine Ausgabe von Georgios Mylius ist nichts bekannt.
117	?	xv	414	Georgios Synkellos, Ἐκλογὴ χρονολογίας. (Hardt, IV, 271-3).
118	E	xvi	399	David Philosophos (urspr. 1. Teil, jetzt fol. 1-278); vgl. Lackner (bei Nr. 60), 158. (Hardt, IV, 233-42).
119	E	xvi	399	David Philosophos (urspr. 2. Teil, jetzt fol. 279-471).
120	—	xvi	418	Aristeides Quintilianus, Περὶ μουσικῆς (urspr. 1. Teil, jetzt fol. 1-77). (R.P. Winnington-Ingram, <i>Aristidis Quintiliani, De Musica libri tres</i> , Leipzig 1963, ix, Nr. 36). Scr.: Andreas Darmarios, 6.10.1564. Über Darmarios: VG 17; Otto Kresten, "Die Handschriftenproduktion des Andreas Darmarios im Jahre 1564", in: <i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> 24 (1975) 147-93, Beschreibung 156-62 u.ö., Tafel 2, 3b, 4a-f; Ders., "Der Schreiber und Handschriftenhändler Andreas Darmarios. Eine biographische Skizze", in: Harlfinger [wie bei Nr. 70], 406-19; Gamillscheg I, Nr. 13. Darmarios hatte ein Skriptorium, wo zwischen 1559 und 1587 über 1000 Handschriften angefertigt wurden.
121	—	xvi	418	Johannes Pediasmos, Γεωμετρία (Hardt, IV, 299-300). (urspr. 2. Teil, jetzt fol. 78-111). (vgl. Nr. 120).
122	?	xv	506	Diverse Texte (Hardt, V, 225-8).

- 123 Palaeologi Imp admonitiones ad filium.
- 124 Quaestiones propositae Caesario, Gregorij Theologi fratri.
- 125 Theophylacti, Bulgariae Archiepiscopi enarratio 12 prophetarum.
- 126 Constantini Imperatoris opus de apparatu bellico.
- Τέλος.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|-----|---|
| 123 | — | xvi | 411 | Manuel Palaiologos, Liber Paraeneticus et al. (Hardt, IV, 264-9; urspr. 1. Teil, jetzt fol. 118-203; vgl. Otto Kresten, "Andreas Darmarios und die Erotapokriseis des Pseudo-Kaisarios", in: R. Riedinger, <i>Pseudo-Kaisarios. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage</i> , München 1969, 89-91; Kresten 1975 [wie bei Nr. 120], 158-9, 181, 184-5, 190). |
| 124 | — | xvi | 411 | Ps.-Kaisarios, Diadochos (urspr. 2. Teil, jetzt fol. 1-117). Fol. 16-21v und 84-117: scr.: <i>Michael Murokephalites</i> (ca. 1560-70), vgl. Gamillscheg I, Nr. 284. (vgl. Nr. 123). |
| 125 | — | xvi | 410 | Theophylaktos. (vgl. Kresten [wie bei Nr. 120]; diese Hs. wird detailliert beschrieben). |
| 126 | E | xv | 432 | Konstantinos et al. (Hardt, IV, 337-47). |

Nach Münchener Signaturen

(1575)	(Heute)	(Eparchos)			
8	348	13	123+124	411	—
97	349	—	12	412	—
74	350	58	108	413+433	—
40	351	60	117	414	—
20-21	352/362?	11	116	415	—
9	353	6	102	416	—
13	354	8	120+121	418	—
69	355	61	113	419	79?+M562
11	356	10	82	420	—
27	357	17?	19	421	26
37	358	52	5	424	2
34	359	35	51	429	49
99?	362	11?	61	430	67
20-21	362/352?	11	126/71	432	70+82?
45	363	53	108	433+413	—
33	364	45	103	434	—
4	365	1	42	438	51+22?
44	366	44?	94	439	78
47	367	54	83	440	—
18	368	43	66	442	63
6	370	23?	49/54	443	—
39	372	—	41	444	39
10	373	14	26	448	24?
77	374	59	65	450	69
38	375	—	63	451	64
114	376	—	36	454	—
109	377	—	15	455	41+9
2	378	12?	110	457	—
3	379	4?	84	458?	—
98	380	—	48	459	55
32	381	48	?	462	7 ²
1	383	—	25	464	—
115	385	—	23	465	33
14	386	3	28	466	15+20
62	388	97	52	467	56
95	389	100	73	469	99
76	390	65	58	470?	—
43	393	38	31	472	50
16	394	29	50	473	—
46	395	17	7	474	42?
17	398	32	90	475	68?
118+119	399	66?	81	476	74
60	400	73	35	478	42?
107	402	—	?	479	94 ³
101	403?	—	111	483	—
72	408	98	22	484	27
125	410	—	70	485	70+82? ⁴
			64	487	77

2 Vgl. W 308, Anm. 13: Möglich Hs. Aug. II.
3 Vgl. W 308, Anm. 14: Vgl. Ott. 94, Dorez 298, A. 3.
4 Vgl. M432.

55	488	46	17	398	32
78	489	76	18	368	43
104	490	—	19	421	26
30	497	19	20-21	352/362?	11
53	498	—	22	484	27
85	499	28	23	465	33
79	502	71	24	504	34
105	503	—	25	464	—
24	504	34	26	448	24?
85bis	505	93	27	357	17?
122	506	—	28	466	15+20
112	508	—	29	570	18+21
96	509	—	30	497	19
75	510	86	31	472	50
80	511	96+62	32	381	48
89	515	87	33	364	45
93	516	—	34	359	35
?	518	36?	35	478	42?
88	520	72?	36	454	—
57	522	31	37	358	52
?	524	40? ⁵	38	375	—
91	525	—	39	372	—
56	526	47	40	351	60
106	527	—	41	444	39
92	529	91	42	438	51+22?
?	543	75?	43	393	38
100	544?	—	44	366	44?
68	549	30	45	363	53
59	552	—	46	395	17
87	560	92?	47	367	54
86	562/419	79?	48	459	55
67	564	80+81	49/54	443	—
29	570	18+21	50	473	—

Nach Wolf - Nummern

(1575)	(Heute)	(Eparchos)			
1	383	—	55	488	46
2	378	12?	56	526	47
3	379	4?	57	522	31
4	365	1	58	470?	—
5	424	2	59	552	—
6	370	23?	60	400	73
7	474	42?	61	430	67
8	348	13	62	388	97
9	353	6	63	451	64
10	373	14	64	487	77
11	356	10	65	450	69
12	412	—	66	442	63
13	354	8	67	564	80+81
14	386	3	68	549	30
15	455	41+9	69	355	61
16	394	29	70	485	70+82? ⁶
			70	485	70+82? ⁷

5 W 309, Anm. 2: Vgl. Wolf 54!

6 Vgl. M432.
7 Vgl. M432.

71/126	432	70+82?
72	408	98
73	469	99
74	350	58
75	510	86
76	390	65
77	374	59
78	489	76
79	502	71
80	511	96+62
81	476	74
82	420	—
83	440	—
84	458?	—
85	499	28
85bis	505	93
86	562/419	79?
87	560	92?
88	520	72?
89	515	87
90	475	68?
91	525	—
92	529	91
93	516	—
94	439	78
95	389	100
96	509	—
97	349	—
98	380	—
99?	362	—
100	544?	—
101	403?	—
102	416	—
103	434	—
104	490	—
105	503	—
106	527	—
107	402	—
108	413+433	—
109	377	—
110	457	—
111	483	—
112	508	—
113	419/562	79?
114	376	—
115	385	—
116	415	—
117	414	—
118+119	399	66?
120+121	418	—

122	506	—
123+124	411	—
125	410	—
126/71	432	70+82?

Nicht bei Wolf nachweisbar?

?	462	7 ⁸
?	479	94 ⁹
?	518	36?
?	524	40? ¹⁰
?	543	75?

Nach Eparchos-Nummern

(1575)	(Heute)	(Eparchos)
4	365	1
5	424	2
14	386	3
3	379	4?
9	353	6
?	462	7 ¹¹
13	354	8
15	455	9+41
11	356	10
20-21	352/362?	11
2	378	12?
8	348	13
10	373	14
28	466	15+20
27	357	17?
46	395	17
29	570	18+21
30	497	19
28	466	20+15
29	570	21+18
42	438	22?+51
6	370	23?
26	448	24?
19	421	26
22	484	27
85	499	28
16	394	29
68	549	30
57	522	31
17	398	32
23	465	33
24	504	34

- 8 Vgl. W 308, Anm. 13: Möglich Hs. Aug. II.
9 Vgl. W 308, Anm.14: Vgl.Ott.94,Dorez 298,A.3.
10 W 309, Anm 2: Vgl. Wolf 54!
11 Vgl. W 308, Anm. 13: Möglich Hs. Aug. II.

34	359	35
?	518	36?
43	393	38
41	444	39
?	524	40? ¹²
15	455	41+9
7	474	42?
35	478	42?
18	368	43
44	366	44?
33	364	45
55	488	46
56	526	47
32	381	48
51	429	49
31	472	50
42	438	51+22?
37	358	52
45	363	53
47	367	54
48	459	55
52	467	56
74	350	58
77	374	59
40	351	60
69	355	61
80	511	62+96
66	442	63
63	451	64
76	390	65
118+119	399	66?
61	430	67
90	475	68?
65	450	69
70	485	70+82? ¹³
79	502	71
88	520	72?
60	400	73
81	476	74
?	543	75?
78	489	76
64	487	77
94	439	78
113	419/562	79?
86	562/419	79?
67	564	80+81
70	485	82?+70 ¹⁴
126/71	432	82?+70
75	510	86
89	515	87
92	529	91
87	560	92?

85bis	505	93
?	479	94 ¹⁵
80	511	96+62
62	388	97
72	408	98
73	469	99
95	389	100

Nicht bei Eparchos, nach BSB - Signaturen

97	349	—
99	362	—
39	372	—
38	375	—
114	376	—
109	377	—
98	380	—
1	383	—
115	385	—
107	402	—
101	403?	—
125	410	—
123+124	411	—
12	412	—
108	413+433	—
117	414	—
116	415	—
102	416	—
120+121	418	—
82	420	—
108	433+413	—
103	434	—
83	440	—
49/54	443	—
36	454	—
110	457	—
84	458?	—
25	464	—
58	470?	—
50	473	—
111	483	—
104	490	—
53	498	—
105	503	—
122	506	—
112	508	—
96	509	—
93	516	—
91	525	—
106	527	—
100	544?	—

- 12 W 309, Anm 2: Vgl. Wolf 54!
13 Vgl. M432.
14 Vgl. M432.

- 15 Vgl. W 308, Anm.14: Vgl.Ott.94,Dorez 298,A.3.

59 552 -

Nicht bei Eparchos, nach Wolf - Signaturen

1 383 -
 12 412 -
 25 464 -
 36 454 -
 38 375 -
 39 372 -
 49/54 443 -
 50 473 -
 53 498 -
 58 470? -
 59 552 -
 82 420 -
 83 440 -
 84 458? -
 91 525 -
 93 516 -
 96 509 -
 97 349 -
 98 380 -

99 362 -
 100 544? -
 101 403? -
 102 416 -
 103 434 -
 104 490 -
 105 503 -
 106 527 -
 107 402 -
 108 413+433 -
 108 433+413 -
 109 377 -
 110 457 -
 111 483 -
 112 508 -
 114 376 -
 115 385 -
 116 415 -
 117 414 -
 120+121 418 -
 122 506 -
 123+124 411 -
 125 410 -

THE *GESTA APOLLONII* AND ITS GREEK VOCABULARY AND GLOSSES*

G.A.A. Kortekaas

The *Gesta Apollonii* (henceforth: *Gesta A.*) is a versification of a part of the *Historia Apollonii* (henceforth: HA). This, originally Greek, romance was introduced to the Western World in the late fifth or early sixth century through two Latin versions (*Recensio A* and *Recensio B*, RA and RB, for short).¹ In the Western Countries both Latin and vernacular versions enjoyed great popularity, so that the romance has not unjustly been called: "The medieval favourite" (cf. Peters 1902).

Within Latin literature the *Gesta A.* was the first witness of increasing interest in the HA, particularly in the domain of school and scholarship.² Since all detailed knowledge of the composition and transmission of the *Gesta A.*³ is lacking, only broad outlines can be given.⁴ It is very likely that the poem was pro-

* For the English translation of this article I am highly indebted to Marian Lefferts, Groningen. Furthermore, this article could never have been published without the assistance of Jan van Stralen, Groningen.

1 Cf. Kortekaas 1984. All quotations are from this edition. For the *Gesta A.* see p. 5 with note 7; p. 426 with note 8.

2 See for the medieval Latin versions of the HA (i. e. *Gesta A.*, *Carmina Burana*, Godfrey of Viterbo, Jacobus Falckenburgius [Jacobus à Falckenburgk]) and their respective backgrounds Kortekaas 1990. The present article is a further elaboration concerning the *Gesta A.*

3 All citations are from the text-edition by Dümmler 1884, 483-506. As is also shown by the present article, the text of Dümmler's app. crit. and apparatus fontium needs correction (see note 15 [for line 555] and note 8 [for ll. 613-4]; app. crit. l. 137 [see p. 231], l. 162 [see p. 230]). As far as I know, no modern translation of the *Gesta A.* is available; the translations offered are my own. For a partial text-edition see Ermini 1920, 109-25 (for bibliography cf. p. 111, n. 1).

4 Further reading: Bursian 1877, 55-6, and 105; Dronke 1970, 85-6; Klebs 1899, 334-7 (also 13, 47); Manitius 1911, 503, 598, 614-6 (bibliography *ibid.*); Raby 1957, vol. I, 277; Schepps 1884 and 1885; Stammler 1978, Sp. 2533; Traube 1878 and 1885.

duced at a monastic school, as were for example the poems *Ecbasis Captivi* and the *Waltharius*, although admittedly these are quite different in character. Secondly, it is commonly thought to have originated in Saxony, since the two main characters, who are engaged in a dialogue, are called Strabo and Saxo. Here, the poet clearly thought of men like Walahfrid Strabo (808-49) and other Carolingian poets, who made extensive and rather free use of the eclogue-form. The leonine verses and the careful avoidance of hiatuses and elisions, though, point to a date of composition too late for Walahfrid Strabo to have been the author himself. Besides, it is not an eclogue proper, for the author has divided his narrative among the two speakers rather arbitrarily.⁵

In the narrative itself he very closely follows his Latin original, except that he opens his poem with a lengthy introduction of 42 lines, in which the classical invocation of the Muses has been replaced by not one but two invocations of the Trinity. Then, at epic pace and with epic prolixity, there follows the retelling of the first eight chapters of the HA, with the horrible story of the evil King Antiochus who rapes his own daughter and prevents a marriage for her by propounding for her suitors an unsolvable riddle; subsequently there appears on the scene Apollonius, the young prince of Tyre, who solves the riddle, but is nevertheless rejected, and is even pursued by an assassin, named Thaliarchus, who is sent by Antiochus to try to persuade the people of Tyre to start a war against Apollonius. At this point, after 792 verses and in the middle of a speech by Strabo, the only manuscript containing the *Gesta A.* breaks off. Obviously, this leads us to wonder how many verses it originally comprised, and whether it covered the whole of the HA. This letter, however, seems to be an unlikely hypothesis, since, in that case, the poem would have resulted in a very long text, of which, moreover, no trace has been left.⁶

The reason why the text breaks off as abruptly as this is that the entire manuscript consists of only two parchment folia (now 325x225 mm, writing area 310x200 mm, eleventh-century caroline minuscule, 3 columns of writing of 60-65 lines per column), which originally formed a *bifolium*, and which have been preserved as flyleaves of the twelfth-century codex 169, University Library, Ghent.⁷ This codex contains only the text of St. Jerome's *Explanatio in Hiezechielem prophetam*. As a result of their function as flyleaves the folia have naturally suffered much: the text, in any case not easy to read since it is heavily abbreviated, has in several places faded away completely, especially at the bottom of the folium. What is more, the Ghent manuscript (henceforth referred to

5 In the introduction the ratio is Strabo 20 as against Saxo 22, but in the actual story Strabo outdoes Saxo by far (474 and 285 verses, respectively): typical, perhaps, for the school situation, where the schoolmaster did most of the talking.

6 In that case it would have been a poem comprised of more than 12 or 13 folia, written in 3 columns, which would have totally disappeared without a trace. Cf. also notes 11 and 32.

7 See for the description of the codex: De Saint-Genois 1849-52, 314-5; Derolez 1977, 15. Here, I would also like to express my gratitude to the Library of Ghent which provided me with a microfilm of the *bifolium*.

with the siglum G) appears to be (as we shall see later on) only a hasty copy of an earlier text. The editor of the text, Ernst Dümmler, therefore, despite all his experience, found it a difficult task to produce a moderately reliable text-edition.⁸ The fact that the original author of the *Gesta A.* interspersed his text with difficult Greek words only added to Dümmler's problems. These Greek words already at a very early stage (as we shall see further on, even in the initial stage) made it necessary to add a glossary to the text in the form of a large number of short interlinear explanations. In the Ghent manuscript the glosses are partly found between the lines, partly in the margins, where they are written downward from the top of the page to the bottom. But since the folia served as flyleaves, particularly the fore-edges have been trimmed.

The glosses have also elicited attention in earlier times. Froumond of Tegernsee (965-1008), a celebrity in the Ottonic period,⁹ copied 31 glosses, almost all in the same wording and order as they appear in the *Gesta A.*, into his private copy of Boethius's *De consolazione Philosophiae*. This codex once belonged to the Fürstliche Öttingen-Wallersteinische Bibliothek at Maihingen (cod. I 2 lat. 40, 3)¹⁰, siglum Maih.¹¹ Presumably it was through this copy that the glosses came to be included in a later lexicographical work, called the *Glossarium Salomonis*.¹²

8 Dümmler's first edition of the text appeared in a *Programm* of Halle University, on 22 March, 1877, under the title: *Gesta Apollonii Regis Tyrii metrica ex codice Gandensi*, Halis 1877. It was reviewed by Bursian (1877). Within the same year 1877 a separate edition of only 20 pages was printed in Berlin; in a review Traube (1878) offered some conjectures, and Dümmler accepted most of them. His final edition appeared in 1884 in the series *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (see note 3). For the assistance offered by Bursian, Hagen and Traube see Dümmler (1884), 483, in his introduction. Still, after publication Traube gave severe criticism (1885), especially on the treatment of the scribe's remark *deest hic* ('here something is lacking') in G, which observation Dümmler took to be a remnant of a hexameter, but from which Traube rightly concluded: "dass der Gandensis (...) gegen Ende, wie gewöhnlich, sogar eine recht schlotterige Abschrift ist."

9 For Froumond of Tegernsee (965-1008) cf. Manitius 1923, 517-25 (see also index p. 841); Eder 1972, 36 sqq. '*Der Lehrer Froumund*'; *Verfasserlexikon* 2, 978-82 s.v. Froumond von Tegernsee (compiled by Chr. E. Ineichen-Eder); for a possible interest taken by Froumond and his companions in Greek and Greek grammar, cf. Krause 1956.

10 The best study of this codex is offered by Schepss 1881. It was sold in 1935 to the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, and there given the signature lat. 4° 939. It disappeared after 1945 and scholars feared that the codex might have disappeared (cf. Eder 1972, with further description of the codex). Fortunately it was rediscovered in 1985 in the Biblioteka Jagiellonska in Cracow under the Berlin signature, as appears from Berschin 1988, 331 (n. 61).

11 The only study of the Apollonius glosses appeared in Schepss (1884). The words in question copied on p. 22 of the Boethius manuscript are (with a cross-reference to the verses of the *Gesta A.*, and cited in the order of Froumond): (45) *suppetia*, (43) *malonus*, (52) *proci*, (42) *adelphe*, (62) *energia*, (67) *trossulus*, (69) *oppido*, (70) *nevum*, (111) *pedagoga*, (112) *ligmo*, (112) *sintomate*, (117) *ptirius*, (119) *bilis*, (120) *doxosus*, (121) *cromate*, (129) *stomachante*, (136) *orsis*, (137) *fisso*, (137) *pronostona*, (155) *ravulus*, (156) *claniit*, (162) *antrice*, (174) *cocytii*, (173) *trutinabitur*, (176) *toxicus*, (176) *crassans*, (182) *procos*, (228) *sciet*, (234) *retinacula*, (271) *emphatice*, (270) *crissemate*. For the use of some words of the *Gesta A.* and the glosses made by Froumond see Strecker 1925, 72 *pronostinus* (for this reference see below p. 000), 128 *retinacula*, 130 *lynx*, 133 *cerritus*.

12 This work is associated with the person of Salomo III, well-known as the bishop of Constance and the abbot of St. Gallen (890-920). It actually originated in France; manuscript evidence suggests a date in s. VIII-IX. It is known by various names such as *Glossarium*, *Glossae*, *Glossulae*, *Vocabularius* (sic). Further reading: Manitius 1911, 597-8; Manitius 1923, 812.

Many interesting points could be made about the *Gesta A.* Although at the time the first editions appeared (1877, 1884) it was studied and discussed intensively by scholars like E. Dümmler, L. Traube, G. Schepss (who particularly concerned himself with the glosses), it received scant scholarly attention in the early and mid-twentieth century, a fate it shares with the HA. The present-day increase in interest in the HA is accompanied by a certain interest in the *Gesta A.*, to which the present article hopes to contribute, even if it enters only into one specific aspect: its Greek vocabulary and the accompanying glosses.

The profusion of Greek words is mentioned in almost every article written about the *Gesta A.*, but hardly ever discussed in detail.¹³ The Greek vocabulary consists of about sixty words — some repeated two or more times — in a total of 792 verses, at times appearing in clusters and sometimes of a very abstruse character. To give a clear-cut example: when the author wishes to describe the nurse's dismay at the atrocity of King Antiochus's behaviour towards his daughter, he says (Vv. 11-2)

*Cogitat econtra pedagoga stupedine tenta
inmani ligmo pariter sintomate magno.*

These lines would have been completely incomprehensible to us, had not three explanatory notes been added: *pedagoga*] *nutrix* GMaih.; *ligmo*] *singultu* GMaih.; *sintomate*] *sudor magnus* G, *sudor immanissimus* Maih. Although even these explanations do not solve all problems, at least the general meaning of the verses is clear.

In an attempt to order this unruly material somewhat, we may class the Greek words under the following heads:

1. poetic-epic words;
2. closely related to this category, the nautical terms;
3. Greek words used to render Latin words and terms from the HA;
4. words belonging to the vocabulary of the *artes liberales*, especially philosophy and rhetoric;

13 The most serious approach was made by Bursian (1877), who lists 31 words, which all, except *malonus* and *ptirius* are mentioned in this article, as well. As to (l. 43) *malonus* glossed as *furialis* GMaih., I dare not agree with Bursian, who proposes *menolus* being a corruption of *μαυνόλης*, cf. LSJ s.v. 'raving, frenzied'. A corruption of this kind hardly tallies with the Greek and the knowledge of the Greek language as it is further encountered in the *Gesta A.* Neither dare I accept his second suggestion: "oder ist an das vulgärgriechische *μαλῶνω* 'streiten, hadern' zu denken?" I presume that with Traube, Dümmler, *Novum Glossarium* s.v. *malonus*, one has to consider it a writing-error for *malignus*. Like Bursian, I can find no possible interpretation of the strange word *ptirius* in the line (117) *Miror si ptirius fuerit quis mente protervus / regis qui gratae rupit genitalia natae* notwithstanding the glosse *ptirius*] *demens* GMaih., an interpretation accepted by Blaise 1975, s.v. : 'fou'. Bursian remarks: "das Wort ist mir völlig unklar denn an πτυρτικός 'schreckhaft, scheu' ist doch wohl kaum zu denken."

5. words current among monastics;
6. a separate category consisting of such words which do not clearly belong to one of the preceding categories.

Obviously some of the words in question will be difficult to classify under only one head (this is especially true of the categories 1 to 3): the classification only serves to get a grip on the material.

1 The largest category includes poetic-epic words, the majority of which had long been current in Latin: (208, 346, 685) *aether* (αἰθήρ); (247, 637) *aula* (αὐλή); (511, 513, 518, 585, cf. 719) *aulicus* (αὐλικός); (683) *astrum* (ἄστρον); (614) *bachor* (βακχεύω); (376) *barathrum* (βάραθρον) even with the hybrid lucky finding 'barathrum <... > atrum'; (15) *coturnus* (κόθορνος); (518, 638) *heros* (ἥρωσ); (26) *hymnus* (ῥυμνος); (129) *stomachor* (cf. στόμαχος); (411) *thalamus* (θάλαμος); (35) *Thalia* (Θαλία), here as an *abstractum pro concreto* in the fine combination of a pagan and a Christian term *Iam sat erit nostra Christo clamasse Thalia* "now our invocation to Christ in our poem will suffice"; (483) *thermae* (θέρμαι); (192) *thesaurus* (θησαυρός); (409) *tympanum* (τύμπανον, τύπανον); (244, 433, 711) *tyrannus* (τύραννος). This profusion of poetic-epic words is clearly the result of the poet's wish to exalt the sober prose of the HA to the higher level of an epic.

2 Closely related is the meticulousness with which the poet chooses originally Greek nautical terms in his poetic retelling of the Latin prose story, although most of these terms, too, had been current in Latin for centuries. I should like to point out the following words: (395) *ancora* (ἄγκυρα); (202, 344) *carbasa* (κάρπασος); (207) *celeuma* (κέλευμα); (347, 390, 459) *contus* (κοντός); (442) *lembus* (λέμβος); (204) *pelagus* (πέλαγος); (368) *pontus* (πόντος). The points of the compass, too, are amply represented: (633) *eurus* (εὐρος); (392) *Lips* (λίψ); (489) *Zephyrus* (Ζέφυρος).

3 The third category includes Greek words rendering words and terms of the Latin original. The poet apparently tried to do his utmost, but sometimes he aimed too high, necessitating an explanatory gloss. Compare: (372) *antheticus* (ἀντιθετικός) as a rendering for HA ch. 5, RB 6 *inimicus*; (164) *enigmata* (αἰνίγματα); (300) *doma* (δῶμα); (65) *dulus* (δουλός), used in the same way by Walafrid Strabo (*Poet. lat. med. aevi* II, p. 401); (62) *energia* (ἐνέργεια), where the gloss *dementia* GMaih. was needed to explain that it denotes Antiochus's frantic, almost diabolical passion (cf. ἐνεργούμενος 'possessed by the devil'); (191, 492, 594, cf. 720) *ephebus* (ἐφηβος) as a rendering of HA's *puer, iuvenis, adulescens*; (166) *immundus* <... > *grabattus* (κράβατος) used to describe the immorality of the love Antiochus feels for his daughter; (482, 533) *gymnasium* (γυμνάσιον) where the HA itself was helpful (cf. ch. 13, RA/RB 6 *gymnasium patet*); (111) *pedagoga*, where the explanatory note uses the term regularly used in the HA to denote the nurse of the princess: *nutrix*; (169, 306, 322, 327) *problema* (πρόβλημα), in the sense of riddle (cf. *enigmata*); (716) *sciphus* (σκύφος) where, at the poet's personal invention, Antiochus is depicted as a heavy drinker (*sciphum rex ore retraxit amicum* "The king took the cup, his dear friend, away from his mouth").

4 A number of Greek words are obviously closely connected to the domain of the *artes liberales*, learning and culture. Compare, for example, (419) *didascalicus* (διδασκαλικός) closely linked to the word (419) *sophia* (σοφία)¹⁴ in the striking *arte didascalica necnon luctante sophia / quaerere concepit*, a rendering of HA ch. 4, RB 16-7 *Et dum docto pectore quereret, dum scrutatur scientiam, luctatur cum sapientia, favente deo invenit questionis solutionem*; (193, 291) *docma* (δόγμα); (120) *doxosus* (cf. δόξα), a Christian hybrid neologism necessitating the gloss *gloriosus* GMaih., since δόξα in itself may also mean 'opinion', which might result in an interpretation of the word as 'full of ideas, arbitrary', a meaning the poet certainly did not intend it to carry; (271) *emphatice* (ἐμφατικῶς), a remarkable combination of a Greek word and a Latin adverbial ending; (670) *mimicus* (μιμικός), combined in one and the same breath with the word *fantasma* (φάντασμα), in Antiochus's anxious remark: *mimico fantasmate fallor?* "Am I mocked in a mimic performance?"; (561) *linx* (λύγξ) with the learned background that *lynxes* . . . *clarissime quadripedum omnium cernunt* (Plin. Nat. 28, 122), as a consequence of which the spy Thaliarchus searching for the fugitive Apollonius is even nicknamed by the patronimic (555) *Lincides* '(grand)son of the Lynx';¹⁵ (550) *pragma* (πράγμα); (669) *psichin* (ψύχην) in the line *semper erant parti* (i.q. *parati*) *psichin supponere morti* "they were always willing to sacrifice their lives"; (361, 411) *scema* (σχῆμα), here used both in the meaning of 'plan, construction' (361 *subtili scemate structo*), and 'tapestry' (411 *thalamum vario cum scemate comptum*); (37) *sirma* (σύρμα) in the charming juxtaposition *prolixi* < . . . > *cum simmate dicti* "with a train of long-winded talk";¹⁶ (261) *sophisma* (σόφισμα) used in a positive, non-denigratory sense.

5 Certain Graecisms might find their explanation in the monastic environment in which we have to picture our author. That there are only three examples of these, of which two are found in the Introduction, shows our author's faithfulness to the original, pagan text. The three are: (42) *ne tardes, dulcis adelphe*, "do not linger, dear brother", said in the last line of the Introduction by Saxo to Strabo; this phrase is often used in monasteries, but, despite that, explained in Maih. with the gloss: *id est frater*; (31) *parthenia* (παρθενία)¹⁷ in the striking, chiasmic phrase: *Regia partheniae captasti viscera purae*, "Thou (i. e. Christ) hast taken possession of the royal womb of the pure Virgin"; (360) *simmistia* (συμμύστις): in theological writings this word is often used of prophets and apostles (such as Isaiah, St. Paul). Amalarius of Metz, *Eccl. off.* 1, 9 (Migne, PL 105, 1007C), for example, says of St. John: *symmista id est secretarius vel secreti conscius, qui mysteria Christi explicat*, a wording very similar to that of the *Gesta A.* 359: *Omnium noster fidus*,

Taliarche, minister, / qui secretorum constas simmistia meorum, here said in relation to Thaliarchus, henchman of the evil King Antiochus, rendering HA ch. 6, RA/RB 3 as *Taliarche, secretorum meorum fidelissime minister*.

6 The Greek words discussed above already give a clear indication of the erudition and the skill of the author of the *Gesta A.*, as well as of his wish to write an epic as perfectly as he could. Even so, there still remain a number of Graecisms that are difficult to explain and whose origins are not immediately evident. Presumably this is why glosses are particularly frequent in this category. Compare: (162) *antrix* (ἄντραξ 'carbuncle, ruby', but also 'carbuncle, malignant pustule'), glossed as: *id est color in superficie cutis* Maih.; (270) *chrisoma* (chrῶμα 'that which is made of gold', 'gold plate'), with the gloss: *deauratione* Maih.; (296) *condilocma* (κονδύλωμα 'knob, callous lump', not glossed at all; (121) *croma* (chrῶμα, 'skin', 'colour of the skin'), illustrated with the gloss: *colore* GMaih.; (111) *ligmus* (λυγμός 'cry'),¹⁸ glossed as: *singultu* GMaih.; (137) *pronostona* (for which it is not at all easy to find a Greek equivalent), glossed as: *Pronostonus est, qui habet mentum fixum in pectus pre tristicia* Maih.; (111) *sintoma* (σύμπτωμα 'symptom'), with the gloss: *sudor magnus* G, *sudor immanissimus* Maih. It is apparent that the words discussed above mostly belong to the vocabulary of medicine and that they are a clear sign of our author's preference for this kind of terminology. He probably found the words in one of the medical glossaries which in the Middle Ages circulated in large numbers. The words *condiloma*, *chrisoma*, *croma*, *ligmus*, are often found in the *Glossaria* (compare the indices in Goetz 1888-1924, VI-VII).

This is not to say that the use of these words, their meaning and the accompanying *interpretamenta* are at first sight crystal-clear. Let us consider them successively in a little more detail. The use of the word *croma* (chrῶμα) perhaps is least startling. Compare: (121) *innuba suspitiens croceo cum cromate flavens*, "She, unwed, looking up (to her nurse), blond with a saffron-coloured skin", almost as if it were painting the young princess in all innocence. The explanatory note *colore* GMaih. is really rather superfluous, since chrῶμα first and foremost denotes (cf. LSJ s.v. I) 'skin, esp. of the human body'. The explanatory note modelled after Isid. *Orig.* 10,45 *graece enim chrῶμα color vocatur* is so frequently found, that its almost standard appearance here need hardly surprise us.

As for the reading *crisomate* in (270), *vix torsit collum crisomate valde torosum*, "he could hardly turn his very muscular neck (to look at the approaching Apollonius) because of his golden necklace", it must be noted that this reading actually is based on a conjecture by Traube to emend the manuscript reading *crissemate* G, also found in Maih., there provided with the gloss: *deauratione*, which *interpretamentum* perhaps enforces Traube's conjecture. Therefore, this place may be an instance of a passage where the Maih. reading, with gloss, is

14 Cf. Walker 1950, 125 (examples taken from Columbanus, Sedulius Scotus, Adamnanus, *Historica Famina*).

15 Dümmler's reference to Ovid *Met.* 5, 99 *Hypsen Lyncides* is hardly relevant.

16 Cf. LSJ s.v. σύρμα II. 3 *sirma* = *dictio longa*, GLOSS.

17 Cf. Eupolemius (ed. Manitius 1973) II, 582; *est Bethlem caste paupercula fame / Parthenie, quam Taumato cognomine dicunt* "There is Bethlehem poor, but of chaste fame, for the Virgin, called with the epithet 'Wonder'."

18 LSJ s.v. λυγμός II point out that this word occurs in the sense of ὀλολυγμός and is included as such in the 'Souda'-lexicon, cf. Adler 1933 s.v.: λυγμός: ὀλολυγμός. The same sense survives in Modern Greek.

preferable to the G-reading, without gloss, and the former may have been based on a better copy-text.¹⁹ In ll. 296-7 the matter is more complicated: *Instructus vero pro condilomate miro / visceribus motis scrutatur in intima cordis*, where instead of *condilomate* Traube conjectured *profunde docmate miro*, whereas Schepss defended the original reading on the grounds that *condiloma* occurs in later, lexicographical works based on the *Gesta A.*²⁰ Nevertheless it is not easy to arrive at a correct, satisfying interpretation. In my opinion, an eventual explanation must be based on the fact that in glossaries and elsewhere the word *condyloma* is often associated with the word *nodositas*.²¹ In the context of the riddle, the poet of the *Gesta A.*, too, uses the word *nodus*, cf. l. 323: *es procul a nostri, iuvenis, problemate nodi*, "young man, you are far from untieing the knot of my riddle". Moreover, this use is in accordance with the style of the HA (ch. 41, RA/RB 34 *nodus parabolarum*; ch. 3, RB 4 *nodus petitionis*; ch. 36, RB 5 *nodus questionum*). There is every reason, therefore, to retain the original reading, bombastic as it may seem, and its translation should run as follows: "Instructed then, as to the strange, knotty riddle Apollonius consulted his inner soul, deep in his heart of hearts."

But there is more. We must now direct our attention to the words *anthrix*, *pronostona* and *sintoma*, the most difficult ones in this category. Earlier studies have already drawn attention to the *Glossaria*. LSJ s.v. σύμπτωμα points out that συμπτώματα is explained by: *sudor nequissimus*, Gloss.; MLW (1967, P. Ladner) s.v. *anthrax* even explicitly refers to *Corp. Gloss. Latin.*, ed. Goetz III 596,25 (which should be 596,1; see below.). As far as I can see, however, the exact scope, precise context and the interpretation have thus far escaped scholarly attention.

The place MLW refers to is an entry word in a large collection of medieval glossaries, found in the cod. Vat. Reginensis lat. 1260²², titled *Hermeneumata codicis Reginae Christinae*.²³ Goetz, who also has published this collection (l.l., pp.

19 A suggestion made by Schepss (1884, 182).

20 Cf. Schepss (1884, 183). But also compare Bursian's difficulty: "da des Sinnes wegen nicht wohl an das griechische κονδύλωμα gedacht werden kann, so bleibt mir das Wort räthselhaft; vielleicht steckt darin das Wort δῆλημα."

21 Cf. Gloss. V 584, 3: *Condilomata sunt nodositates, quas patiuntur artetrici digitorum*; Ps. Ambros., *Act. Seb.* 14, 48 *si ab hac nodositate condylomatum mei fuerint membra corporis resoluta*.

22 Codex written on vellum, ff. 178, 27 ll. per page, s. IX^{ex}, carefully written, although sometimes words are wrongly divided. It contains several cosmographical treatises (Beda, *De natura rerum*; Isidore of Sevilla, *De natura rerum*; Hygin, *De astronomia*; Aethicus Ister), further a compilation concerning the planetary system and the stars, based upon Pliny, Hygin and Aratus, a *computus*, and, finally, four medical-botanical glossaries. For a description consult Goetz 1888-1924, vol. III, XXXII and XXXIV; Fontaine 1966, 110-1; Leboeuffe 1983, XLVIII. It belonged to the Abbey of Fleury and then came into the possession of P. Daniel (witness marginal note f. 1r).

23 For the term and the contents see Goetz 1912, 1437-39; *Der kleine Pauly*, II (Stuttgart 1967), 816-21 including bibliography; Marrou 1948, 59-61, 143-4. On the survival of the *Hermeneumata* in the Middle Ages see Bischoff 1967, 232, 257, 259 sqq.

549-607), dated the codex in the tenth century. Modern scholarship prefers the late ninth century, and believes that it originates from the Loire-district.²⁴ The medical-botanical treatise, which forms the last section of the manuscript, consists of four bilingual glossaries (ff. 165^r-172^v; 172^v-174^r; 175^r-177^r; 177^r-178^r). These four parts differ in that the first three treatises are rather dry catalogues, containing mostly names of plants, greatly differing in length (no. 1 treats approximately 2200 items, no. 2 almost 400, no. 3 almost 700), whereas the fourth,²⁵ containing almost 500 entries, compares favourably with the others because of its long, often very interesting descriptions, not of plants but rather of names of diseases and surgery.²⁶ Although many lemmas have come down to us badly mutilated, we come across many *interpretamenta* that are most appealing even at a first reading, and which, because of their rich variety are able to hold the reader's constant attention. Even under the 'a's' one encounters all sorts of diseases and horrors that infested ancient and medieval society, such as leprosy (i.e. dull-white leprosy especially on the face), melanosis (St. Anthony's fire), erysipelas, alopecia (originally mange in foxes, in which hair falls out), apoplexy.²⁷ In leafing through this glossary I caught myself moving from one entry to the other; I think this is also the way the author of the *Gesta A.* made use of exactly this glossary (as we shall see further on), especially since in the HA, too, we find many medical symp-

24 Cf. Fontaine 1966, 111: "*Le Reg. lat. 1260*, daté de la fin du IX^{ème} s., provient sans doute du fond de Fleury, puisqu'il porte l'ex libris de P. Daniel; en tout cas, il a sûrement été écrit dans la région de la Loire au cours de la seconde partie du siècle." As far as I have been able to ascertain, the source, development and circulation of these *Hermeneumata* have never been the object of a detailed study.

25 Although of treatise I it is explicitly said that (p. 549, 1) *de graeco in latinum translatis*, as is the case in treatise II (p. 579, 1) *Translatum ex graeco in latinum*, and in treatise III (p. 586, 1) *lat[ina] interpretatio herbarum vel pigmentorum*, no such phrase is found in treatise IV, even though in certain entries both word and definition are in Latin e. g.: (597, 24) *alvum*: *ventrem*; (597, 39) *assatum*: *sine aqua coctum*; (598, 3) *bucellas*: *tortelli minuti*; (599, 1) *conditum*: *vinum coctum*; (600, 21) *egrotus*: *laboriosus*; (601, 28) *femora*: *coxas*; (603, 10) *menstrua*: *purgatio mulierum*; (604, 14) *morbus*: *egritudo*, *putredo*; even successive Latin entries are found: (600, 42) *egritudo*: *corporis afflictio*; (600, 43) *expertum*: *probatum*; (600, 44) *elixata*: *cocta*. Obviously here we have to reckon with an intake different from the other entries.

26 For a number of more elaborate definitions see: (p. 597, 1) *artredice* (cf. ἀρθριτική): *dolor qui iuncturis contigit ex humore melancholico; descendit perossa et coagulationem sanguinis accipit et dolorem facit*; (p. 597, 9) *algicis* [cf. ἄλγησις 'sense of pain']: *lumborum dolor; ex utraque coxa surgit ille dolor usque ad femora*; (p. 597, 13) *attonia* [cf. ἀτονία 'slackness, debility']: *debilitas visce que urinam continere non potest*; (p. 598, 27) *ciradas* [cf. χοιράδες 'scrofulous swellings in the glands of the neck']: *glandiole que circa collum et in inguinibus nasci solent* (cf. Paul. Diac., *Hist. Long.* II, 4 *coeperunt nasci in inguinibus hominum vel in aliis delicatioribus locis glandulae in modum nucis seu dactuli*); (p. 605, 1) *splenetica passio* (cf. σπλήν 'spleen'): *indignatio lateris sinistri: intumescit splen et reumatizat stomachum in dolorem*.

27 For a number of interesting, directly appealing terms compare: (p. 596, 3) *anorexia*: *fastidium*; (p. 596, 5) *algima i(d est) dolor*; (p. 596, 6) *apoplexia*: *subita gelatio sanguinis que similis est paralesis* (v.l. *paralisi* cod. Bern 337) *in ictu corporis et anime*; (p. 596, 8) *alopicia* [cf. ἄλωπικία 'mange in foxes']: *nuda cutis per partem capitis in se habens albos pilos et falvos* (read: *flavos*); (p. 596, 9) *anodino* [cf. τὸ ἀνώδυνον 'anodyne']: *sine dolore*; (p. 597, 30) *alfus leucus* [cf. ἄλφός λευκός 'dull-white leprosy esp. on the face']: *maculas albas*.

toms whose precise medical name can be found in this glossary.²⁸ It will be worth our while to go into this in a little more detail.

When the poet wants to describe how feverishly Antiochus tries to think up riddles to keep away his daughter's suitors, he says (l. 162): *Exarsit vultus rutilans antrix caducus* "His sunken face inflamed in a deep red colour", which in the Maih. manuscript is explained with: *id est color in superficie cutis* "this is colour on the surface of the skin". Both the word *antrix* and its gloss can be found in the above-mentioned *Glossarium*, as its first entry (Goetz, l. l. p. 596,1): *antrix. i. rubor in superficiem cutis. intra cutem nigra ulcera nascuntur sicca cum nimio dolore* "antrix, i.e. a red mark on the skin. within the skin dry black swellings develop, which cause much pain". Both interpretations go back to the Greek word ἄνθραξ which both means 'carbuncle, ruby' and 'carbuncle, malignant pustule' (cf. LSJ, s.v.). It seems this entry may have provided the poet with the idea and the words for his description of Antiochus; to explain his train of thought he even retained the gloss. Curiously enough, Dümmler says the gloss in G reads *antrix* ... *cie c...* s, while in fact lengthwise in margin we can still read <...>*cie cutis*, which suggests that before part of G's margin was cut away the complete note may have been identical (or nearly identical) to the note in Maih.: *id est color (rubor?) in superficie(m?) cutis*.

Lines 111-2 are even more bewildering. As we have already seen, it is in these lines we hear of the nurse's horror at what happened to the princess:

*Cogitat econtra pedagoga stupedine tenta
inmani ligmo pariter sintomate magno*

These lines would have been almost untranslatable, had it not been for the explanatory notes: *pedagoga*] *nutrix* G Maih.; *ligmo*] *singultu* G Maih.; *sintomate*] *sudor magnus* G, *sudor immanissimus* Maih. Surprisingly enough, both terms are also included in the above-mentioned glossary, as are their explanations, namely p. 602, 29 *ligmus: singultus* and p. 605, 32: *sintomate: sudor nequissimus*. I fail to see what might have been the origin of the latter, very remarkable interpretation, though it might probably be found to lie in the Greek version of the text of the *Hermeneuma*. Furthermore, the superlative of Maih. *immanissimus* seems more in line with the *Hermeneuma* than G's positive *magnus*, which may have been changed deliberately to normalize the scale.²⁹ The translation of these lines now runs: "The nurse had her own thoughts regarding the subject, struck by bewilderment, with loud lamentations and cold sweat." The poet, however, may also have associated σύμπτωμα with συμπίπτω 'collapse' (cf. ch. 2, RB 3 *corruit*, compare

28 For some medical terminology compare: (p. 597,33) *anadrom(e)* [cf. ἀναδρομή]: *matricis ascensio* (cf. HA ch. 25, RA/RB 11); (p. 604, 27) *pronestica: praevisio egritudinis* (cf. HA ch. 18, RA/RB 18-21); (p. 605,9) *secundas mulierum: immunditia mulierum que post partum sequitur* (cf. HA ch. 25, RA/RB 11); (p. 600,21) *eotrosufiste* [cf. ἰατροσοφιστής]: *medicus sapientissimus* (cf. HA ch. 26-7). On medical matters in the HA see Amundsen 1974.

29 Cf. Schepss's opinion (1884, 182) concerning G versus Maih.

also LSJ s.v. IV 'falling in, collapse, in medical sense'); then the line may be translated as: "with loud lamentations and strong convulsions." He nevertheless retained the gloss.

Finally, the best example is provided by the strange words the nurse in the same episode uses to address the princess and to ask her why she is so sad (ll. 137-8):

*Fissere nunc nobis, cur sic pronostona tu sis,
quod flendo mortis rogatas solamen atrocis?*

Again these lines are almost untranslatable without the clues offered by the glosses: *Fissere*] *aperi* G, *fisso: aperio* Maih.; *pronostonus est qui habet mentum fixum in pectus pre tristitia* Maih. Here, too, — *mirabile dictu* — both word and note are found in the afore-mentioned glossary, where on p. 600, 27 it says: *enprostotenus: mentum qui pectus* (variant reading: *pectori* cod. Bern 327) *habet infixum*, "he who has his chin stuck to his chest". At first sight this formulation is puzzling, but its meaning becomes clear when the disease which has the opposite effect and which is also included in the *Hermeneuma* (p. 603, 1) is taken into account as well: *opostotenus: extensio nervorum ut cervicem retro se erigere non possint*, "the growing together of the muscles so that they (i.e. the people suffering from this disease) may not raise their heads". Both words are directly based on the medical terms ἐμπροσθοτονία 'tetanic procurvation', and ὀπισθοτονία, 'tetanic recurvation', mentioned, among others, by Caelius Aurelianus, a fifth century Latin physician (*Celeres Passiones* 3, 61 cf. LSJ s.vv.).³⁰ The working-procedure is clear: the author of the *Gesta A.* again looked to the glossary for both his wording and its explanation. He very likely deliberately altered the Greek word a little, in the sense of *pronus*, 'inclined to', while associating *stonus* with the verb στένω 'moan and groan'.³¹ Thus the gloss could be retained, but since here it does not refer to a deformity arising from medical causes, the addition *pre tristitia* was needed. This results in the following translation: "Tell us why you are so sad that tearfully you cry for the consolation of a horrible death." At this point in G's gloss Dümmler quotes — with apparent agreement — Traube's view: *puncta ablegant ad glossam marginalem hodie inextricabilem*. But again I found that in the pictures of the manuscript that are in my possession G's gloss

30 As to the actual wording of G Maih., it agrees with the definition found in Celsus, *De re medicina* IV, 6,1 (ed. W. G. Spencer, vol. I [London 1971⁵]): *Neque tamen alius importunior acutiorque morbus est quam is qui quodam rigore nervorum modo caput scapulis, modo mentum pectori annectit, modo rectam et immobilem cervicem intendit; priorem Graeci ὀπισθότονον, insequentem ἐμπροσθότονον, ultimum τέτανον appellant*. The most striking parallel, however, is found in Caelius Aurelianus, *De morb. acutis* (ed. J. C. Amman, Amstel-aedami, 1722) III, 6, 69 (p. 207): *Emprosthotonicis autem colla conducuntur in anteriorem partem atque mentum pectori configitur*. I encountered this remarkable wording with its characteristic *mentum (con)figere* in none of the Latin and Greek medical works I consulted.

31 A surmise already raised by Bursian (1877, 56): "wohl eine vox hybrida aus lat. pronus und griech. στένω."

(although partly cut away) still reads: *p[ect]us pre [t]risticia*, thus corresponding with the gloss in Maih.

This close examination of a medical glossary clearly shows that a new dimension must be added to the list of activities of our learned monk. I imagine that leafing through the glossary (owned by the monastery) he met with a number of highly fascinating terms, and could not resist making use of them in his poetry. To the aid of his readers the original author himself decided — and wisely so — to include explanatory notes, part of which he found ready for use in the same glossary. Nevertheless, in spite of his attempts to make the best of it, this scholarly terminology has prevented the work's wide circulation.³² According to Dronke, poetic individuality characterizes this period. This qualification, certainly, is also applicable to the author of the *Gesta A.* Be that as it may, the poet's preference for Greek words seems to have appealed to some of his learned fellow-monks, as the glossary of Froumund of Tegernsee witnesses. Froumund seems particularly to have liked the word *pronostonus* 'inclined to cry', for when he seeks to encourage the promising but lazy Ellinger, the future abbot (1017-1041), to break his silence (c. XXVII, ed. K. Strecker, p. 72, 17) he uses the same term the *pedagoga* in the *Gesta A.* once used to address the princess (l. 4):

In vocem rumpe! Si non poteris, rogo, muge!
Aut aliquid, volumus, dicas: cur sic pronostinus (sic) astas?

"Break your silence, utter a word; if you cannot speak, then I pray you, moan: or at least say something; why do you stand there moved to tears?"³³ Ultimately many words in the *Gesta A.* were to be included in the *Lexicon Salomonis*, but this is a different story altogether.³⁴

If the present article were to end with this remark, its discussion would have been rather one-sided, considering the Latin vocabulary has received no attention at all so far. However, any extensive treatment of this subject would provide enough

32 There is no question of a much wider circulation. Lehmann (1961, 118) in his discussion of the book-collection of Bernhard Rottendorf mentions an intriguing title (no 92) *Historia Apollonii metrice*; this book-collector may, therefore, have possessed a copy of the *Gesta A.* That the *Gesta A.* were not fully unknown is also apparent from the parallel mentioned by Walther 1969, nr. 1842-3.

33 For a number of other words Froumund derived from the *Gesta A.*, see above n. 11.

34 Schepss (1884, 182-4) deals with this aspect. The following words have been included directly: (37) *simate*, (56) *thorum*, (64) *nisu*, (65) *dulos*, (101) *tenebras* (the definition, however, points to Isid. Orig. 5, 31,6 *tenebras dictas, quod teneant umbras*), (121) *innuba*, (for [137] *pronostona* see Schepss (1884, 179) nr. 27), (150) *cerritus*, (164) *enigmata*, (191) *ephebum*, (253) *dicier*, (270) *torosum*, (281) *ebullit*, (296) *condilocmate*, (300) *domata*, (306) *problema*, (349) *transtris*, (350) *lintrizant*, (470) *perculit*, (504) *veltres*, (513) *aulica*, (593) *famine*, (689) *quassans*, (716) *sciphum*, (791) *roscida*. This means that either the original of the *Gesta A.*, or another compilation of glosses more extensive than Maih. must have existed at the time of the inclusion in the *Lexicon Salomonis* (cf. Traube 1885, 381-2).

material for another article. This is sufficient reason to only draw your attention to three Latin words, whose importance lies in the fact that they may help us to further define the author's world and times.

In the fine 14-lines epic comparison (ll. 141-51) of an eagle's pursuit of a simple dove, a metaphor for the relation between Antiochus and his daughter, the odd word *cerritus* is used:

Ille per ignotos saltus variosque recursus
cerritus mitem sequitur post terga volucrem.

In G this word *cerritus* is explained as *furens*, resulting in the following translation: "He, over unknown mountain meadows, climbing and descending, chases after a simple dove." Now *cerritus* is a word typically belonging to glossaries (Glos. V p. 276, 15 *cerritus: furiosus*). It is likewise glossed in Abbo of St. Germain's *Bella Parisiaca urbis* 3, 32: *cerritus* (glossed: *furiosus*) *caveas fore*, "Beware you do not get furious". It is worth noting that Abbo of St. Germain, whose work dates from 888-9 and who is taken to have died in 921,³⁵ uses many Greek words that are also found in the *Gesta A.*³⁶ He, too, has a marked preference for medical terms,³⁷ but (unlike that of the *Gesta A.*) his vocabulary cannot be shown to have been derived from a specific glossary.³⁸

35 Schepss (1885, 378-80) emphatically brought to notice the parallel between the *Gesta A.* and Abbo of St. Germain. Curiously enough, however, this aspect, to my knowledge, has not been dealt with in the later *Forschung*. For more information on Abbo consult Waquet 1964, Introduction, V-XIX. This text-edition only comprises the first two books, dealing with the siege and the relief of Paris. For the third book, resembling the *Gesta A.* most, but not closely related to the other two books (the *Novum Lexicon Latinum* cites the text under a separate title: *poema*), we wholly depend upon the edition of P. von Winterfeld, MGH *Poet. Lat.* IV, pp. 116-21. On the Greek words used by Abbo see Waquet 1964, XII, n. 2 and another work mentioned there: Laistner 1924, 29; on the glosses cf. Waquet 1964, XIII-XV, and below n. 42.

36 For an identical vocabulary in Abbo (in this list the first words mentioned, with their relevant glosses) and the *Gesta A.* (listed, with line-references and relevant glosses, in square brackets) compare: (19) *aulica: palatina* [511, 513, 518, 585, cf. 719]; (36) *baratrum: infernum* [376]; (39) *crisis: aurum* [270 *crissemate* GMaih., with the gloss *deauratione* Maih.]; (8) *cromam: colorem* [121 *cromate*, with the gloss *colore* GMaih.]; (45, 57) *doma: tectum* [300]; (114) *doxa: gloria* [120 *doxosus*, with the gloss *gloriosus* GMaih.]; (30) *effebus: inberbis* [191, 492, 594, 720]; (67) *limbus: navis* [442]; (38) *psiche: anime* [669 *psichin*].

37 For Abbo's preference for medical terms see the following list of words and their glosses taken only from Book III: (6) *acrimonia: vigor animi et corporis industria*; (71) *algemam: dolorem*; (7) *ambasilla: venter*; (9) *anodiam: medicinam*; (72) *apathia: impassibilitatem*; (86) *apoplexia: mors subita*; *passio similis paralisi*; (69) *aporiam: anxietatem*; (21) *apozima: aqua cum variis cocta condimentis*; (69) *atrophiam: tenuitatem corporis*; (94) *branchio: gutture*; (65) *cardiacus: cardiacus i(d est) cor*; *pulsus cordis patiens*; (37) *egilopia: vulnera oculorum*; (13) *glaucoma: caligo oculorum*; (24) *limphatici: dementis*; (35) *monotalmus: luscus*; (38) *scrupulum: angorem, anxietatem*. Abbo, to my knowledge, uses none of the remarkable medical terms we find in the *Gesta A.*

38 Of the words mentioned in the previous note six deserve further discussion, since their definitions to a certain extent are similar to those in the *Glossarium* consulted by the author of the *Gesta A.* Still, the similarities are not so striking as to warrant the conclusion both authors used one and the same glossary — i.e. that the author of the *Gesta A.* resided in the monastery of St. Germain or possibly near Paris. Compare: (71) *algemam: dolorem*, cf. *Herm.* p. 594, 24 *algima i(d est) dolor*; (9) *anodiam: medicinam*, cf. *Herm.* p. 596, 9 *anodino: sine dolore*; (86)

Lintrizo, the second word I would like to discuss, belongs to the category of nautical terms the author uses with meticulous care, and means 'sailing in a linter/lunter (= a small boat)'. Line 350 reads:

Tum laeti terris lintrizant inde relictis

meaning: "At this they left the shore behind and happy they sailed in their boat." The word *lintrizo* has come down to us in only one other text: Clemens Scotus's *Ars Grammatica* (ed. Tolkiehn) 120 p. 74.³⁹ This word may point to an Irish/Anglo-Saxon influence, which in turn would explain the author's careful use of nautical terms, and his knowledge of Greek in general.⁴⁰

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the striking **epic comparison** (ll. 504-10), in which the mortal fear the spy Thaliarchus experiences when he is in a strange, hostile town is compared to a fox's seeking cover from a pack of hounds (ll. 504-6):

*Praefugiens veltres ceu quondam callida vulpes
sedibus ex altis nemorum quoque saltibus imis
prosilit in campum post terga sequentibus amplum.*

"As once a shrewd fox, fleeing the hounds, from out of its deep hole in the woods and the deep alps, scampers off towards the open field for fear of those who follow after him." The statement by Notker Balbulus (840-912), of St. Gall, to the effect that the word *velter* has a Gallic origin (Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli Magni* [ed. H. Haefele, Berlin 1962], I, 20): *duas caniculas <...>, quas Gallica lingua veltres nuncupant*, "two little dogs ... called in Gallic idiom veltres", is most interesting, especially since it appears from this source the word was pre-eminently used in Gaul.⁴¹ The dates of the *Gesta Karoli* (between 884-7 that is), too, are in accord with the dates that can be surmised from both other words.

apoplexia: mors subita; passio similis paralisi, cf. Herm. p. 598,6 *apoplexia i(d est) subita gelatio sanguinis que similis est paralesis* (v.l. *paralisi* cod. Bern 337) *in ictu corporis et anime*; (21) *apozima: aqua cum variis cocta condimentis*, cf. Herm. p. 597,4 *apocima: aqua cum surculis vel radicibus cocta*; (65) *cardiacus: cardian i(d est) cor; pulsum cordis patiens*, cf. Herm. p. 598,25 *cardian: cor hominis*; (94) *brancho: gutture*, cf. Herm. p. 598,4 *brancis: gula*. A certain resemblance cannot be denied, especially with the words *apocima* and *apoplexia*, but considering the wide circulation of these glossaries and the fact that the author of the *Bella Parisiaca urbis* made considerable use of other medical terms, it seems unwise to draw too far-reaching conclusions.

39 Identical text in: Puckett 1978, 262, r. 12: *verba primae coniugationis, (...) ut (h)ymnizo, lintrizo, catacizo (...)*.

40 For the Irish and their knowledge of Greek compare especially Bischoff 1951 and 1954, Smit 1971, 141-59; for Irish nautical terms borrowed from Greek see *ibid.*, index s.v. *Navigatio*.

41 Cf. Du Cange 1883-7, 2, 89, s.v. *Canis Veltris*, *Veltrahus*, *Vertragus*; Meyer-Lübke 1972, nr. 9257 s.v. *Vertragus*; Godefroy 1895, s.v. *veltres*; Greimas 1982, s.v. *veltres*.

These three words enable us to provide a more precise dating and localizing of our author, a man, who, probably in the ninth century, may have lived in Northern France, under Irish/Anglo-Saxon influence. The practice of an author himself adding the glosses to his text in the above hypothesis is nicely paralleled by the author of the *Bella Parisiaca urbis*, who says of himself that he added interlinear *linguae* (an exact rendering of the Greek γλωσσαι), i.e. explanatory notes, to the text himself.⁴² The fact that the earliest copies of the HA that we know of are from the North of France shows that our localization is not at all an unlikely one.⁴³ One may even point to the close connection between the Mons Blandinius, the place the Ghent manuscript was produced, and the monastery of St. Wandrille, where the HA had started its career.⁴⁴ If the hypothesis of an Irish/Anglo-Saxon influence is accepted,⁴⁵ the question arises: were the Greek words in the *Gesta A.* — or at least part of them — originally written in Greek characters,⁴⁶ particularly as the Greek words in the *Gesta A.* are a remarkably close reflection of the medieval Greek pronunciation?⁴⁷

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- 42 On this practice and the word 'linguae' see Waquet 1964, 6: *Tum, per semet quoniam mutis* (glossed as: *obscuris*) *inheret verbis, propria manu linguas* (glossed as: *glosas*) *superjeci*, in W's translation: "mais, comme elle (= l'allégorie) s'attache par elle-même à des mots obscurs, j'y ai superposé des gloses de ma propre main." In no other dictionary have I found this use of the word *lingua*.
43 On the spread of the earliest copies of the HA in Northern France and on the connection between the HA and the monastery of St. Wandrille, see Kortekaas 1984, 419-21.
44 On the connection between St. Wandrille and Mons Blandinius, where the Ghent manuscript was produced, see Van Werveke 1967, 79-92.
45 On the Irish/Anglo-Saxon influence on the *Gesta A.* see Ogilvy 1967, 74: "and a *Gesta Apollonii* at the University of Ghent (MS 169 <...>) may have English connections", unfortunately without further comment.
46 Compare P. v. Winterfeld's edition of a manuscript which uses both Latin and Greek characters (op. cit. n. 35) III, 38 *Nam scrupulum generant ΨΙΧ* (glossed: *anime*) *vexantque pupillas*; III, 112 *scandere concinnas ΘΗΟ* (sic) *tu clangere laudes*.
47 Cf. Dietrich 1898, 126-45. Perhaps the writing (296) *condilocma* for κονδυλώμα is to be explained in this manner as a misreading of the omega.

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ALEXANDER OP DE HOEF: THE LEGENDARY ORIGINS OF THE
COUNTS OF EGMOND*

Anneke Mulder-Bakker

In 1561, Count Lamoraal of Egmond, the renowned Netherlandish patriot who died on the scaffold in 1568, bought a History of Alexander in Brussels.¹ He made a note of this, scribbling in the back of the codex: *Lamorael degmont, Bruxelles le xxvii jour de may 1561*. The book was entitled *Liber Alexandri Magni Regis Macedonum* and included a legendary history of Alexander the Great, usually referred to as the *Alexanderroman*, and also known to us as the *Historia de Preliis*. It is a so-called J3-version, without a prologue, consisting roughly of the text as edited by Steffens (1975). The story of Alexander is followed by a short treatise on the transmission of knowledge. This text deals with knowledge about the sun, the moon and the stars, and in particular with necromancy, as it was handed down from Ham, the son of Noah, to Nimrod and the Jews, and transmitted by Alexander and the Ptolemies to the tenth-century scholar Gerbert of Reims, the later pope Sylvester II. Through him the information was placed at the disposal of all scholars in the Western World (f.86-89v). Since the main text glorifies Alexander, we may assume that this treatise was added because of Alexander's role in the *translatio studii*.

In the present anthology by which — among others — the Groningen Alexander Group hopes to honour its mentor, the obvious question is, why did a prince such as Lamoraal wish to buy a book of the History of Alexander the Great? This question is even more compelling since Lamoraal is not known to have been a

* I would like to thank Dr. O. Vries, who commented upon an earlier draft of this study and Dr. Andrew Palmer, who corrected my English.

¹ The Hague, Royal Library, ms. 135 G 27; Lamoraal's signature on f.85. Short description of the manuscript in Sotheby's *Catalogue of Western manuscripts and miniatures ... sales 11 dec. 1972*, 22. I am indebted to the late Dr. E.R. Smits for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

book-collector wanting to acquire everything he came across, nor is he known as a humanist interested in Antiquity or the Bonae Literae — though he enjoyed making a show with this or that artist or humanistic scholar at his court. Actually, he was more a man of action, a sturdily built man, grown bow-legged from horseback-riding. He liked nothing better than fighting, hunting and jousting.² Was it admiration for the famous knight and conqueror, therefore, that made him buy this book?

Fortunately we have some circumstantial evidence, preserved in the environs of Egmond, that enables us to pursue this question. It is contained in a chronicle of the counts of Egmond by the local priest Dirck Wouterszoon and two texts by monks of St. Adalbert Abbey, with which the counts of Egmond had strong ties. Like all medieval monasteries, the Abbey of Egmond, one should remember, was dependent on lay protectors for the conduct of its secular affairs. The counts of Holland, the founders of the abbey, had exerted these rights in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but later they yielded them to the lords in the neighbourhood, among whom the lords of Egmond were the most powerful. From the thirteenth century on, these lords were the exclusive and official protectors or advocates of the abbey (Hof 1973, *passim*). They were known as the lords 'Op de Hoef' because they resided at the 'hoeve', or manse, attached to the abbey. As vassals of the abbot and main supporters of the count of Holland, they became the leading noblemen of the territory. In the fourteenth century they were regarded as high nobility ('baanrotsen') and in 1486 were given the title of count ('graaf'). On Lamoraal himself the title of prince was bestowed, and he was among the most powerful princes of the Low Countries. Only the Orange family surpassed him in power and wealth. Although Lamoraal certainly resided in the Southern Netherlands and stayed only infrequently at 'Op de Hoef', he kept in touch with the abbey and had a cordial relationship with the monks. The Egmond monk Hovaeus, for instance, wistfully remembered his visits.³

We may, therefore, reasonably expect to find information in sources at the abbey about the lords of Egmond and about the question that concerns us here.

The first source is a letter written by Cornelis van Grebber, allegedly in 1198, and addressed to Wouter, "the first one of this name and the twelfth lord of Egmond" (this Wouter, or maybe his father, was in fact the founder of the dynasty; Dek 1958, 9). Because the letter was committed to paper in sixteenth-century handwriting and because Cornelis van Grebber was a sixteenth-century monk of Egmond, writing about ideas and facts that could hardly be conceived of before the

2 Troeyer 1961, 18-23. Dirck Wouterszoon, who handed over a book on the *Origins of the Egmont dynasty* to Lamoraal in 1562, described him as follows (according to the French edition): "Il estoit homme hault, beau et de belle stature, accordt et de bon cerveau, ayant aussi grande et bonne mémoire que seigneur que j'ay oncques cogneu, ayant fort la chasse et le déduict et spécialement la vollerye, vaillant, hardy, et aussi gallant homme de guerre et prince accompli qui a esté de longtemps..." (Stenzler 1857, 61).

3 Wat groote vreugde er was, als hy tot Egmont quam, want hy syne statelycke residentie daer niet en hadde, maer veel menschen leven nog die seer veel gedencken de genoechten die sy daer hadden van maeltijden enz (Kist 1859, 107).

sixteenth century, we may assume that our letter is not a copy of an earlier letter (as it pretends to be) but is in fact a forgery, and that it was intended for the sixteenth-century lord of Egmond, i.e. Lamoraal.⁴ In this letter, he is told that his ancestry can be traced back as far as Alexander the Great. I shall return to this later.

The second source is a chronicle written by Anthonius Hovaeus and known as the *Kronijck ende Historie van het edele en machtige geslachte van den Huyse Egmondt* (printed in Alkmaar 1630). Hovaeus, too, was an Egmond monk of the sixteenth century. He was elected abbot in 1560 but was transferred to the monastery of Echternach by king Philip II, because the abbey of Egmond had been transferred to the newly-founded bishopric of Haarlem in 1559. In his account Hovaeus shows how, according to his investigation of the sources, the first lord of Egmond was descended from Radboud, king of the Frisians in the eighth century. According to him, the lords of Egmond were even at this early date leading nobles in Holland, and ruled the coastal region long before the time that the counts of Holland had entered on the scene. Adgildus, Radboud's son, had allegedly patronized Adalbert, the local missionary after whom the abbey was named, and the tutor of Adgildus's son, Radboud. Adalbert, like a sixteenth-century tutor of princes, had brought up the young knight to be a good Christian prince. The boy had even written a religious treatise that had impressed his grandfather, the English (sic) king Dagobert. And Adalbert had acted as an intermediary in arranging the marriage of his pupil, the Egmond lord, to an English princess, through whom the dynasty was connected with the English royal family. In a similar way they entered the Scottish royal family. Both of these fictional alliances mirror real alliances forged by the Counts of Holland.⁵

Because Hovaeus must have written this history before or in 1560, it is probable that it was addressed to Lamoraal of Egmond (Hof 1973, 289), who, as a consequence of the advantageous marriages of his father and grandfather and also of the untimely death of his elder brother Charles, had become a very rich and mighty prince. Together with his relatives and with the Orange family, he played a dominant role in the Habsburg government of the Low Countries. Unlike the latter family, however, he could boast a very old and venerable lineage in Holland (Nierop 1984, 48). He was in fact descended from the old Holland dynasties and probably needed a historical document to attest and glorify his lineage. Hovaeus provided him with such a 'document' and, in the process, made his family-tree a match for that of the Counts of Holland.

In his chronicle as we know it, i.e. in the printed version of 1630, the pre-eminence of the house of Egmond is clearly underlined, but it is emphasized even more in the manuscript versions.⁶ Ms The Hague, Royal Library 72 B 19, f.92, for instance, begins with the following passage:

4 Meilink 1951, inv. 840; see also Hof 1973, 290. As will be argued later on, the reference to Plutarch and the *Old Frisian Chronicle* is hardly creditable before the sixteenth century.

5 Hovaeus 1630, 11-3 and 53. He even claims that Wouter (whom he regarded as the twelfth lord of Egmond, as did Grebber), the contemporary of count William I, was married, like count William himself, to a lady from Guelders (p. 38).

6 Hardly any research has been done on the manuscript tradition. I plan to go into more detail in a later study. For the present I must refer to Kist 1859.

Scrutinizing all the old books and chronicles, one may observe that the Serene Lords and Barons of Egmont descend from royal stock...⁷

Hovaeus's main objective was therefore to praise the time-honoured dynasty and to advertise the latter's royal origins. His second aim seems to have been to put the family on an equal footing with the comital family of Holland. Now that the territory of Holland had been absorbed into the Burgundian State and the Low Countries were governed by members of the Habsburg dynasty, Egmond and the others were the *de facto* rulers of the former comital territories. They enjoyed a status comparable to that of the former counts, and wanted a family history to match theirs. Lamoraal himself, as stadholder of Flanders and Artois, must have regarded his position as equivalent to that of the former counts; this awareness found expression in Hovaeus's chronicle.

Like so many noble families in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, the counts of Egmond tried to trace their ancestry to a legendary king of the remote past. Some hailed Charlemagne as their ancestor or Radboud, the king of the Frisians, while others, especially in the Renaissance, preferred Julius Caesar or Alexander the Great. It was in this spirit that Dirck Wouterszoon wrote the chronicle that he presented to Lamoraal in 1562. He used more or less the same material as Hovaeus had done, but outdid him in extending the ancestry of Lamoraal to Troy: the Trojan hero Bavo was supposed to have been the ancestor of the Belgians. As a citizen of Troy, he lived in *Frigye* (Phrygia) and, as everyone knew, this meant Frisia. Consequently, Lamoraal as a Frisian, could trace his ancestry to Troy.⁸

Cornelis van Grebber outdid Wouterszoon in evolving an unbroken pedigree for the Egmond dynasty. His letter to the lord of Egmond — as I said before, the draft was allegedly written in the twelfth century, but the actual letter was certainly handed over in the sixteenth century — was a response to this lord's request to trace the origins of his ancestors, the Frisian kings.

If he had understood 'the old chronicle' well, Grebber says, the Frisian kings were descended from Alexander. Alexander had taken two different wives, Roxane and Stateira. Roxane had been childless, but Stateira had borne a son. She and her son Philippus aroused Roxane's envy, and were threatened with death after Alexander's untimely demise. Stateira was killed, but her son managed to escape. He took refuge in Prussia, where he begat offspring that eventually fathered Radboud and Adgillus of Frisia. The Frisians themselves came from India, being descended from Phryso, Bruyno and Saxo who had led them from there, whence the names of the Frisians, the people of *Bruynswijck* and the *Sassenaers*. 'It is said,' he adds, 'that the Saxon counts are descended from

⁷ Aelsmen alle die oude boucken ende cronijcken wel doorleest, soo machmen merkelyjcken bevinden dat de Doorluchtige Heeren ende Baroenen van Egmont wt Conincklijcken stamme gecomen sijn...

⁸ Jongkees 1990, 77. I used the French translation, the only text that is edited (Stenzler 1857, 15).

Alexander himself, but there is no proof of this.' He refers to Plutarch and the *oude Historien van Vrieslandt* for further information.⁹ This is a remarkable story, a fine example of the creation of legends in a period in which medieval legends were mixed up with classical elements that had not been known or appreciated in a previous age. In that sense Grebber's tale is comparable to the nationalistic histories of the great humanists of the period.¹⁰

It is possible to identify some of Grebber's sources. For example, Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* contains several elements of the above-mentioned story. Plutarch knows of Alexander's 'love affair' with Roxane, and of his marriage to Stateira, king Darius's daughter. Commenting on the rumours that arose after Alexander's death, he says:

Now, Roxana was with child, and on this account was held in honour among the Macedonians; but she was jealous of Stateira, and therefore deceived her by a forged letter into coming where she was, and when she had got there, slew her, together with her sister, threw their bodies into the well, and filled the well with earth, Perdicas being privy to the deed and partner in it.¹¹

Plutarch speaks neither of a son begotten by Stateira, nor of the escape to Prussia by which Grebber explains the presence of Alexander's descendants in the Low Countries.

Plutarch's *Lives* is one of those texts that were unknown to the West in the Middle Ages. They became accessible to the Latin speaking world only after the revival of the study of Greek in Italy during the fifteenth century. Around 1430 Guarino da Verona translated the *Life of Alexander* into Latin. A German version followed in about 1500 and a French one in 1559; but these do not appear to have circulated widely.¹² It is quite plausible, however, that Cornelis van Grebber became acquainted with Plutarch's text either in the Abbey of Egmond itself or in the town of Alkmaar nearby, in which there was an active interest in humanistic studies (Tilmans 1990, 169f.).

⁹ Als ick wel doerlesen heb die oude cronijcke, zoe bevinde ick hoe dat die coninghen van Vrieslandt eerst gesproken zijn vanden groten Alexander die bijcans die heele werelt onder zijn zubiectien heeft ghebrocht overmits zijn grote vromicheijt... Ende dese voerzeijde Alexander regeerde omtrent tweehondert iaren ende sestich voer ons Heeren geboorten ende heeft gehadt twee huisvrouwen, te weeten Roxanen ende Statiram. Roxane was onvruchbaer daer om en heeft zij Statiram die welcke en zoon hadde niet vermoegen. Om welcke zaecke als nu Alexander haestelicke ghestorven was, zoe heeft zij Statiram met valsche brieven bedroghen als ofte Alexander haer ontboden hadde ende hij zelfs die brieven geschreven hadde. Statiram niet quaets vermoeijende of gheen bedroch wetende te spreken, is aldaer gecomen. Als zij nu daer gecomen was, heeft Roxanes gebooden dat mense met haer suster zoude worpen in een diepen put ende die weder mey aerde toe delven. Philippus die zoone Statieram ende Alexander horende dat nu zijn vader ende moeder bejide doot waren, is des snachts heijmelick wech ghevloeden in vreemde landen ende verscheijden plaetsen tot dat hij ten lesten is ghecomen in dat landt daer nu die Prusen in wonen die welcke hem daer terstont tot een prince ghecoren hebben om dattet was een zoon vanden groten Alexander (Meilink 1951, inv. 840).

¹⁰ A fine example in Tilmans 1987; see also Graus 1975 and Jongkees 1990.

¹¹ I quote Perrin's translation in *Loeb Classical Library* (Perrin 1967, 359, 419 and 437).

¹² Ross 1963, 82f.; see also Cary 1956, 267 and Pfister 1976, 163.

Parts of the anecdote, though, had filtered through to Western Europe in the preceding centuries. Quintus Curtius had included a certain number of rumours and legends in his *Life of Alexander*. He, too, knew of both marriages and explained that the generals quarrelled about the succession while still mourning over the bier. Alexander himself seemed to have designated Perdiccas as his successor, but some of the generals preferred to wait until Roxane had been delivered of her child; for she was pregnant at the time of Alexander's death and might give birth to an heir. Others preferred Alexander's nephew, the son of his brother Philip. Hailed as king by the soldiers, this boy adopted the name of Philip; so here we have a little boy named Philip, who was a pretender to the throne. Stateira's son was not regarded as a serious candidate (Rolfe 1971, 527-59). Curtius's biography was well known in the West. By way of Gautier of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* and its vernacular derivatives the stories told by Curtius had been widely disseminated (Ross 1963, 67-74). Maerlant's *Alexanders Geesten* stands in this tradition. The above-mentioned episodes, however, do not occur in his text.¹³

Both Plutarch's and Quintus Curtius's *Lives* belong to the 'Historical Alexander-texts', as Ross (1963, 67) named them. The *Historia de Preliis* belongs to a different tradition, and is based on the romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes. It does not contain these anecdotes. The book bought by Lamoraal in 1561 is no exception; neither the killing of Stateira nor the escape of her putative son Philip are mentioned.

Besides Plutarch Grebber refers to *die oude cronijcke* and *die oude Historien van Vrieslandt*. He does not say explicitly whether he uses material from these sources throughout his letter or only in the last part about the origins of the Frisian people. I am inclined to think the latter. Some of the Frisian chronicles have come down to us under titles (partly contemporary, partly modern) that remind us of Grebber's, such as the *Aldfrysk Kronykje* (fifteenth century) or *Die olde Freesche Cronike* (1474).¹⁴ There we encounter Friso, Bruno and Saxo seeking refuge by flight by ship from India. Thus, in *Die olde Freesche Cronike*, we read:

... in the aforesaid country of India
a province was situated,
named Frisia.
We hear thereof
that three bretheren lived there.
The first was called Friso,
the second Saxo,
and the third Bruno.
These brethren
were charged with certain cases,
and driven out of their country.¹⁵

¹³ *Alexanders Geesten* van Jacob van Maerlant, ed. J. Franck as quoted by De Graaf 1978.

¹⁴ See Carasso-Kok 1981, nr. 142 and 143.

¹⁵ ... in dat voerseide lant India / was gelegen een provincia, / die was gehieten Frisia, / daar wie voerd van lesen, / hoe dat drie broederen hebben gewesen; / De ene was gehieten FRISO, / de ander hiet men SAXO, / den derden hiet men BRUNO; / Welker broedere voer gescreven / ut den lande worden verdreven, / omme sake, also het was gelegen, / die hen worden

The *Historia Frisiae*, a somewhat older chronicle in Latin, and its vernacular derivatives, the *Gesta Fresonum* (in Frisian) and the *Gesta Frisionum* (a translation into Dutch dating from the end of the fifteenth century)¹⁶ also name the three brethren as founders of Frisia, Brunswick and Saxony. They do not distinguish between Phrygia in Asia Minor and Phrysia=Friskia in the Low Countries, and in this they follow the tradition of Wilhelmus Frederici or Dirck Wouterszoon.

Though these Frisian chronicles of the late Middle Ages frequently make a parallel between the Frisian people and the Old Testament Jews, and although Alexander could easily have been mentioned in this context (world-chronicles and Alexander-epics often do so; see Mulder-Bakker 1983, 14f.), we do not find any trace of him, except in the chronicle of Wilhelmus Frederici (d. 1525), the learned parish-priest from Groningen, who acquired an interest in humanistic studies in Italy (Carasso-Kok 1981, nr. 403; Waterbolk 1952, 8). In his discussion of the common origins of the *Frijsij aut Frisones* and the *Hebrei* (*Ex quibus Assijrijs gens Phrisia ante Abraham, imo ante Heber, originem traxit*), and referring to Berosus, the chronicler of Babylon, the name of Alexander came into his mind (Zuidema 1888, 151f.). It is worth noting that Alexander's name occurs only in a more or less humanistic context.¹⁷

One more legend is of interest to us. Grebber mentions it incidentally: the origins of the Saxon count from Alexander's army. It is a legend that first turned up in Otfried of Weissenburg's *Evangelienbuch* (in the ninth century) and Widukind of Corvey's *Res gestae Saxonicae* (tenth century; Graus 1975, 112-34). In some versions of the legend part of Alexander's army wandered off into Prussia: here is a possible explanation of Grebber's remark that Philip took refuge to Prussia, as well as that the Frisians who landed in Dithmarschen, a part of Saxony, adjacent to North-Frisia, belonged to the army of Alexander.

The influential chronicler Worp of Thabor (d. 1538) knew both stories (Steensma 1970, 134-202). He refers to the fabulous Friso brethren, who were thrown out of India and to the descendance of the Frisian people from Alexander's army in Asia. He even has a four-page argument on the apparent contradictions between these two legends. According to some witnesses, he explains, knights from *Cilicia* helped Alexander to overthrow Darius's empire. After Alexander's untimely death they feared the revenge of the local population and fled from Asia.¹⁸ Other sources, such as the *libellus de ortu Frisicae gentis*, hold that

angetegen (Epkema 1853, 212; abbreviations are resolved).

¹⁶ Carasso-Kok 1981, nr. 285, 268 and 269; Reimers 1939, 114.

¹⁷ Another humanistic scholar, Reiner Bogerman, holds that Friso is the son of Athamantes, king of Thebes (see Jansma 1986, 30).

¹⁸ ... dicitur quod in exercitu Alexandri magni fuerunt multi cum principe Ciliciae, qui iuvabant Alexandrum victo Dario rege Persarum subiugare totum orientem; qui post mortem Alexandri non audentes manere in Asia, quia odiosi ibi erant, impleverunt de rapinis et spoliis trecentas naves et pergebant versus Europam. Quae naves propter imperitiam artis nauticae universae submersae sunt in mari, exceptis quinquaginta quatuor. Ex quibus venerunt octodecim in Prusiam, quae tunc erat inculta, et manserunt ibi; duodecim autem venerunt in Riuen, ex quibus exorti Dithmarsche et Holsten et Hadearii ... (Ottema 1847, 8f).

the three brethren came from India (not from Asia) and were to be regarded as Indians. Worp is prompt in offering a solution: why not imagine that Alexander took soldiers from all different parts of the empire, such as the three brethren and their family from Asia, and left them as garrisons wherever he needed support, as in India? He has explained before that the brethren probably incurred the hatred of the local population there, and embarked for Asia, their homeland, after Alexander's death. Their former compatriots, however, hated them, the defectors, as well. That is why they had to continue their flight and head for Europe (Ottema 1847, 10f.). It is an imaginative solution.

The tale of the three brethren, or at least of Friso, was enormously popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Halbertsma 1962-3, 236). The Alexander-version, too, can be traced in several chronicles. To mention just one, hitherto unknown, the *Verhaal over de vroegste geschiedenis van de Friezen*, recently edited by Meijering (1986, 108-11). Suffridus Petrus, a credulous author of the late sixteenth century, names half a dozen testimonies to the Alexander-version in Frisia alone (Waterbolk 1952, 173).

How can a monk like Cornelis van Grebber have learned about this kind of fanciful history? Could a monk living in a Benedictine abbey have been aware of this kind of worldly material? Was there an interest in such things in the community or did he derive his information from outside?

It is clear from the records of the abbey that such an interest existed. There are still documents extant that can prove this. As I have argued elsewhere, the monks of Egmond were already acquiring books on Alexander and the other heroes of the distant past in the eleventh century (Mulder-Bakker 1990, 125). They possessed, among other books, a *History of Troy*, a *Gesta Alexandri Magni* and a *Vita Brendani abbatis*.¹⁹ We may assume, therefore, that an interest in such literature existed among the monks in the abbey and in their circle, which included the lords of Egmond. Later on, in the fourteenth century, the monk Willelmus Procurator not only wrote a *Chronicon* and a book on the miracles of his patron saint, but also a *Historia Alexandri Magni*, of which we unfortunately have no further evidence (Carasso-Kok 1984, 319-34). In addition, he drew upon the Alexander-material to give the beginning of his chronicle a 'courtly' aspect (Mulder-Bakker 1985, 74). Writing for the nobility outside the convent, he alludes to the Alexander-stories: evidently he knows that they love these stories and he appears to like them himself. Alexander seems to have been a great hero in Egmond. The monks read about his great deeds and wrote about him.

People such as the lords of Egmond were probably familiar with these stories as well. Since about 1200, when lord Wouter of Egmond had taken over the advocacy of the abbey with the help of his brother, the abbot, they had had close ties with the monks. Of course there were troubles between the lords of Egmond and the monks about politics and about the administration of the property, but

19 Lampen 1942, 51. We have only the title, *Gesta Alexandri Magni*, in a medieval catalogue; nothing can be said, therefore, about the content. We may venture that the text was an Epitome of Julius Valerius's *Res Gestae Alexandri Magni* (see Ross 1963, 9).

there were also shared festivities at which lords and monks together listened to the famous stories preserved in ancient books or retold by the monks themselves, such as Willelmus Procurator, Anthonius Hovaeus and Cornelis van Grebber.

Coming back to Lamoraal and the book about Alexander, we may venture that he did not acquire the book just by chance. In about 1560 he was in the heyday of his prestige and power. After his brilliant victories over the French in the battles of St. Quentin and Grevelingen (Gravelines), and after the Peace of Cateau Cambrésis (1559), he was a celebrated hero. King Philip II rewarded him with the stadholdership of Flanders and Artois and with membership of the State Council. After long years of restless fighting and travelling, he was charged with governmental duties of great distinction. But he had hoped for more. He had counted on the high command of the army, but he failed to obtain it; this was a serious disappointment for a man with such great ambitions. He felt himself second to nobody, but had to accept that the newly-created cardinal Granvelle took precedence over him in the State Council. The slight was deeply felt (1561; Troeyer 1961, 65-86). He encountered strong opposition and disparagement. Was it at this moment, when he needed to emphasize his rank and position, that he called upon the monks of Egmond to provide him with good stories about his legendary descent from Alexander?

The evidence points to these years. Hovaeus presumably wrote his chronicle before or in 1560, the year he left Egmond. Lamoraal bought the book in 1561. Dirck Wouterszoon presented him with his *Chronicle of the Egmond dynasty* in 1562. Unfortunately, Grebber's letter cannot be dated.

Be this as it may, the legend of Alexander had much to offer to men like Lamoraal and the counts of Egmond. Like all the high nobility of Renaissance Europe, they desired to possess a respectable ancient ancestry; and who could serve their purpose better than Alexander? Royal Frisian descent had already established a possible link with the descendants of Alexander's soldiers; the connection with Alexander's putative son raised their status still further and surpassed all competitors. Not even the Spanish king could boast of such an ancestor!²⁰

As for Lamoraal, self-confident and convinced of his military brilliance, he will have seen in Alexander a worthy predecessor. If Grebber's letter was indeed presented to him, he might even have believed himself to be a descendant of this great warrior of the past. Once in Egmond on his ancestral 'Kasteel op de Hoef', far from Brussels where he was confronted with adverse politics and frustrations, he could listen to the monks and their learned tales about kings and heroes of the past. He could think back fondly to his own great victories and feel himself to be a real descendant of Alexander: *Alexander op de Hoef*.

20 A lively interest in Alexander existed at the court of the Burgundian dukes in Brussels in the 15th century and Philip the Good was praised as a second Hector or Alexander (see Prevenier-Blockmans 1985, 220).

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EIN MORD IN GLARENTZA: DER *DECAMERONE* VON BOCACCIO UND DIE PELOPONNES IM 14. JAHRHUNDERT*

Peter Schreiner

Sprache und kulturelle Umgebung des *Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως* sind ein bevorzugter Forschungsgegenstand des Jubilars. Es mag daher an dieser Stelle angebracht sein, einen italienischen Autor des 14. Jahrhunderts zu Wort kommen zu lassen, der uns zwar keine neuen historischen Hinweise gibt und auch nicht als historische Quelle verstanden werden kann. Vielmehr soll gezeigt werden, wie sich die zeitgenössische griechische Welt im Werk des Giovanni Boccaccio widerspiegelt. Auch wenn nicht alle Werke einer Durchsicht unterzogen wurden, so lässt sich doch sagen, dass der italienisch-griechische Raum keine umfangreichen Spuren im literarischen Schaffen Boccacios hinterlassen hat. Eine Ausnahme bildet die siebte Geschichte des zweiten Tages des *Decamerone*, die im Zentrum dieser Ausführungen steht. Sie ist eine der umfangreichsten und moralisch freiesten Erzählungen des ganzen Werkes. Es folgt zunächst die vom Dichter selbst verfasste Zusammenfassung (Branca 1976, 159-84): "Der Sultan von Babylon schickt seine Tochter dem König von Algarbien zur Frau, die aber durch eine Reihe von Ereignissen in einem Zeitraum von vier Jahren an verschiedenen Orten neun Männern in die Hände gerät. Endlich wird sie als angebliche Jungfrau dem Vater zurückgebracht und reist, wie ursprünglich vorgesehen, als Frau zum König von Algarbien." Eine dieser Episoden steht im engen Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte Moreas und Athens und soll an dieser Stelle näher untersucht werden.

Alatiel, die Tochter des ägyptischen Sultans, verliert bei einem Seesturm nahezu ihre gesamte Begleitung und wird auf die Insel Majorca an Land geworfen.

* Eine vortragsversion dieses Beitrages erscheint in griechischer Sprache an entlegener Stelle (*Βυζαντινὰ Μελετὰ* Bd. 2, Athen). Ich nehme daher gerne die Gelegenheit wahr, in dieser Festschrift für meinen Kollegen und Freund W.J. Aerts eine veränderte deutsche Fassung zu veröffentlichen, die sprachlich und vom Erscheinungsort her auch den Romanisten zugänglich ist.

Pericone, ein Adliger, nimmt sie auf, doch entfacht die Schönheit der Prinzessin bald den Neid seines Bruders Marato. Dieser ermordet Pericone und entführt mit Hilfe zweier genuesischer Kaufleute Alatiel nach Chiarenza. Doch die beiden Kaufleute verlieben sich ihrerseits in die Prinzessin, werfen Marato über Bord, geraten aber bald untereinander in Streit und töten einander im Kampf. So geschieht es, dass Alatiel, allein und ohne Schutz, in Chiarenza ankommt. Doch lässt die Hilfe nicht lange auf sich warten. Der Fürst von Morea (prenze della Morea), der in der Stadt weilte, erfährt von ihrer Schönheit, erkennt an den Sitten ihre Abstammung und nimmt sie in seinem Schloss auf. Die Neuigkeit drang bis nach Athen. Der Herzog von Athen (il duca d'Atene), ein Freund und Verwandter des Fürsten, kommt nach Chiarenza, verliebt sich in die Prinzessin und sinnt auf Mittel, sie zu gewinnen. Er dringt nachts heimlich in den Palast ein, ermordet seinen Verwandten, stürzt die Leiche vom Palast aus ins Meer und entführt Alatiel nach Athen. Dort allerdings gab es häusliche Schwierigkeiten. Da der Herzog verheiratet war, musste er seine Geliebte in einem am Meer gelegenen Landhaus in Attika unterbringen. Aber auch die Rache aus Chiarenza bleibt nicht aus. Ein Bruder des Ermordeten zog gegen den Herzog von Athen zu Felde. In dieser Situation kam dem Herzog der Kaiser von Konstantinopel zu Hilfe, der seinen Sohn Konstantin und seinen Neffen Manuel mit Truppen sandte. Als Konstantin die Alatiel zu Gesicht bekam, verliebte er sich in sie und verliess unter einem Vorwand den Feldzug (über dessen Ausgang die Novelle nichts mehr berichtet), seinen Neffen und den Herzog, brachte die Schöne heimlich nach Ägina und dann nach Chios. Hier wird sie vom Türkenkhan Özbek geraubt und entschwindet damit zwar lange noch nicht der Novelle Boccaccios, aber doch dem Bereich der fränkisch-griechischen Welt.

Boccaccio hat in dieser Novelle natürlich keine zeitgeschichtlichen Informationen geben wollen, uns es wäre verfehlt, die geschilderten Vorkommnisse als reale Tatsachen den genannten Personen zuzuweisen. Aber es ist wohl legitim, die erwähnten und die anonym gebliebenen Personen und die Örtlichkeiten im historischen Umfeld aufzusuchen.

An Orten werden Chiarenza, das griechische Glarentza, Athen, Ägina und Chios genannt, an historischen Persönlichkeiten ein Fürst von Morea, der in Chiarenza weilt oder seinen Sitz hat, der Herzog von Athen, dessen Frau eine Schwester Konstantins, des Sohnes des byzantinischen Kaisers, ist, sowie Konstantins Neffe Manuel. Schliesslich begegnet noch, am Ende dieses Novellenteils, der Türkenkhan Özbek. Mögen auch einzelne Erzählungen des *Decamerone* schon früher ausgearbeitet worden sein, so gab Boccaccio dem Werk seine endgültige Form doch erst zwischen 1349 und 1351 (Branca 1977, 80). Bei einer Festlegung des historischen Rahmens ist also von diesem terminus ante quem aus zu gehen.

Die beiden Schwerpunkte der Handlung, Chiarenza und Athen, spiegeln in gewissem Sinne das italienische Zentrum der Jugendjahre Boccaccios wieder: Neapel, in dem dieser zwischen 1326 und 1339 weilte.¹ In Neapel regierte von 1309 bis 1343 Robert d'Anjou, ältester Enkel des Karl von Anjou. Seine beiden

1 Ausführlich zu den Neapolitaner Jahren: Torraca 1914.

jüngeren Brüder, Philipp von Tarent und Johannes von Gravina, waren Prinzen von Achaia mit der Residenz in Glarentza. Es ist für das Verständnis der Novelle nicht nötig, die verwickelte Geschichte des Fürstentums Achaia in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts hier zu verfolgen.² Wesentlich ist nur aufzuzeigen, welche Personen aus dem näheren Umkreis Boccaccios mit Glarentza und Athen in Verbindung standen.³ Dabei sind vor allem drei Episoden zu nennen. Zu den Neapolitaner Jugendfreunden Boccaccios zählte Ferdinand von Majorca, der auch in der *Amorosa Visione* des Dichters erwähnt wird.⁴ Sein Vater gleichen Namens, dessen Schwester Sancia mit König Robert von Neapel verheiratet war, hatte in einer Erbstreitigkeit, auf die hier nicht einzugehen ist (dazu ausführlich Bon 1969, 190-3), 1315 Chiarenza erobert. Dort heiratete er in zweiter Ehe Isabella von Ibellin, eine Nichte Hugos IV. von Zypern, dem Boccaccio die *Genealogia Deorum* gewidmet hat.⁵ Ob auch Fernando dort geboren wurde, lässt sich nicht ausmachen, da er erst nach des Vaters Tod in der Schlacht von Manolada 1316 das Licht der Welt erblickte. Zu den Neapolitaner Freunden zählte auch Gautier II. von Brienne, der 1332/3 von Chiarenza aus das seinem Vater übertragene Herzogtum Athen den Katalanen entreissen wollte (Bon 1969, 206f.). Sein Name wie der seiner Frau, einer Nichte des Königs Robert von Neapel, sind in Dichtungen Boccaccios festgehalten (Branca 1976, 1103, Anm. 8). Am nachhaltigsten aber ist Chiarenza sicher in das Gedächtnis Boccaccios durch dessen besten freund, Nicola Acciaiuoli gedrungen. Nicola war Finanzberater der Katharina von Valois, der zweiten Frau des Philipp von Tarent (Bon 1969, 208-13). Drei Jahre älter als Boccaccio, weilte er seit 1331 in Neapel und verwaltete nach dem Tod Phillips (1331) die finanziellen Interessen Katharinas und ihrer Söhne. Zwischen 1338 und 1341 hielt er sich in Chiarenza auf, wo er die Grundlagen für die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Kontakte des Florentiner Bankhauses der Acciaiuoli im griechischen Raum schuf. Sein Adoptivsohn Nerio, ein entfernter Verwandter, sollte 1385 die Herrschaft in Athen erlangen (Setton 1948, 174-6).

Angesichts dieser Bindungen ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass Chiarenza eine zentrale Rolle in dieser Novelle zukommt. Der Palast findet sogar eine ausdrückliche Schilderung: "Es stand der Palast oberhalb des Meeres und war sehr hoch gebaut, und jenes Fenster, an dem sich der Fürst befand, blickte auf einige Häuser, die der Angriff des Meeres hatte zusammenstürzen lassen und wohin sich selten oder nie eine Person begab" (Branca 1976, 170, cap. 54). Diese Schilderung entspricht schwerlich allein der blossen Phantasie. Obwohl heute nur mehr wenige Ruinen der Anlage erhalten sind,⁶ passen sie topographisch exakt in die Darstellung Boccaccios — ein bis jetzt noch erhaltener makabrer Hintergrund jenes Mordes, der einzig der Phantasie des Dichters entsprang.

Die Vorgänge in Athen lassen sich weit weniger konkretisieren. Nach dem Tode des Guido von la Roche 1308 trat das Erbe des Herzogtums Walter V. von

2 Hierzu mit allen wünschenswerten Details: Bon 1969, 151-245.

3 Verschiedene Hinweise dazu auch im *Decamerone*-Kommentar von Branca (1976, 1101-6).

4 Cap. XLVI, 1-6. Vgl. Branca 1977, 24. Das Werk wurde wohl 1342 verfasst (vgl. Hauvette 1914, 130 und Branca 1977, 59).

5 Branca 1976, 1101 (Anm. 8) verwechselt den Sohn Fernando mit dem Vater.

6 Plan der Festung Chiarenza bei Bon 1969, Tafel 22, und Abbildungen auf Tafel 23.

Brienne (als Athener Herzog Walter I.) an. Schon drei Jahre später verlor er in der Schlacht am Kopais-See gegen die Katalanen Herzogtum und Leben (Setton 1948, 9f.). Sein Sohn, Walter II., von dem oben schon die Rede gewesen war, hatte trotz mehrerer Versuche sein Erbe nicht zurückgewinnen können. Weder Vater noch Sohn waren unmittelbar mit dem Haus Anjou verwandt (wie die Novelle sagt), aber den Vater verband eine Waffenbrüderschaft mit Phillip von Tarent, und auch der Sohn genoss die Freundschaft Roberts von Neapel. So gesehen kann der Herzog von Athen durchaus als "Freund und Verwandter" des Fürsten von Achaia bezeichnet werden. Aber diese Reminiszenz ist wohl nur dem Historiker nachvollziehbar; der zeitgenössische Leser hat schwerlich darum gewusst, da der Herzog sonst nicht zum Mörder seines Freundes hätte werden können, ohne dass die von Boccaccio geschätzte Person kompromittiert worden wäre.

Am wenigsten konkret ist die Einmischung des byzantinischen Kaisers zu fassen. Die beiden Namen (Konstantin und Manuel) lassen sich von der genealogischen Seite her einordnen. Ausgehend von Andronikos II. (1282-1328) als Kaiser haben wir es mit dem Despoten Konstantin (ca. 1278/81 bis 1334/35) und dessen Neffen Manuel, Sohn Michaels IX., der von ca. 1297 bis 1320 lebte, zu tun.⁷ Doch war niemals eine byzantinische Kaisertochter an einen Athener Herzog zur Frau gegeben worden. Hier waltete, auch in der Auswahl der Namen, die freie Phantasie des Dichters, die der Historiker nicht in einen Rahmen zwingen kann.

Es bleibt zuletzt die Episode mit Chios. Auch sie gibt nur ein entferntes Echo auf historische Vorgänge wieder. Sicherlich hat Özbek, Khan der Goldenen Horde von 1312-1340, am wenigsten damit zu tun. Er trägt nur einen im Westen bekannten Namen. Chios war zwischen 1304 und 1329 in der Hand der genuesischen Familie der Zaccaria und wurde 1329 wieder byzantinisch (Balard 1978, 69-72). Für dieses oder das folgende Jahr wurde auch ein türkischer Überfall berichtet, als der Emir des nahegelegenen Aydin, Umur Pascha, die Insel überfiel (Lemerle 1957, 58f.).

Es bleibt unbestritten, dass Neapel den Ursprung für den Namen und Orte dieser Novelle darstellt. Aber sie erlauben es nicht, ein historisches Bild zu rekonstruieren oder gar unsere historischen Kenntnisse zu erweitern und zu korrigieren. Da wir die Geschichte des Königtums Neapels und des Fürstentums von Achaia in dieser Zeit sehr gut kennen, mag die Novelle auch als warnendes Beispiel für andere Fälle dienen, wie wenig historische Anspielungen in der Dichtung konkretisierbar sind, welche Fehler entstünden, wollte man daraus einen historischen Zusammenhang herstellen.

Vielleicht ist es aber erlaubt, in Verbindung mit unserer Novelle eine literarische Parallele ins Spiel zu bringen. Soweit die Alatiel-Erzählung in Griechenland handelt, sind Anspielungen auf die homerische Helena unverkennbar: der Raub einer schönen Frau, Rache und Krieg als Mittel, sie wiederzugewinnen.

⁷ Papadopoulos 1938, Nr. 60 und 69, sowie jetzt Trapp 1989, 98-9 (Nr. 21499), 101 (Nr. 21511) mit chronologischen Korrekturen gegenüber Papadopoulos.

Boccaccio hat bei der Abfassung des *Decamerone* die *Ilias* noch nicht in vollen Wortlaut gekannt.⁸ Er zieht auch keinen unmittelbaren Vergleich zwischen den beiden Frauen. Doch sagt er an einer Stelle, dass Konstantin, der byzantinische Kaisersohn, nicht nur den Herzog, sondern auch jeden anderen entschuldigen müsste, der, um ein so schönes Wesen zu besitzen, einen Verrat oder eine sonstige Schlechtigkeit beginge (Branca 1976, 172, cap. 67). Denkt man dabei nicht an die bekannten Verse aus der *Ilias*: "Tadelt nicht die Troer und hellumschienten Achaier, die um ein solches Weib so lang' ausharren im Elend?" (*Ilias* 3, 156f., Übers. J.H. Voss).

Es ist unbestritten, dass die für das Byzantinische Reich so schmerzvollen Eroberungen des 4. Kreuzzuges die Verbreitung literarischer Stoffe und Themen über den ganzen Mittelmeerraum hin gefördert haben. Auch die Novellen des *Decamerone*, die eine Fülle hellenistischen Erzählgutes enthalten, sind neben vielen anderen Werken der romanischen Literaturen dafür ein Zeugnis. Aber selten kann man den für den Dichter massgeblichen Hintergrund so deutlich machen wie in der 7. Novelle des 2. Tages, die auf diese Weise auch ein Beispiel für die literarische Verarbeitung der Francokratie in Griechenland darstellt.

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⁸ Die Übersetzung des Leonzio Pilato fällt erst in die Zeit um 1360, vgl. Branca 1977, 114f. und Pertusi 1964.

FROM THE GREEK WORLD TO EASTERN EUROPE: THE CHANGING
FORTUNES OF VARIOUS ALEXANDER TRADITIONS RESULTING IN A
NEW TEXT (MS KÖNIGSBERG UB 334)

Edmé R. Smits †

*1 Introduction**

Texts from Greek Antiquity found their way to the Latin 'Western' medieval world via several different routes. In late Antiquity Greek literature was translated into Latin, in the Middle Ages there was sometimes direct contact between Byzantine and Latin cultural circles and finally countless works made their way into the Latin Middle Ages in the wake of the Arabian conquests via the Near East, Northern Africa and Spain. To illustrate this transmission of texts through various different channels, I shall discuss a case in which several versions of one originally Greek text which followed quite separate paths through history eventually merged into one text again. At the same time I shall demonstrate the level of sophistication of the compilation techniques which medieval adapters applied to the material at their disposal.

The text is a version of the so-called Alexander Romance preserved in MS. Königsberg UB 334. The Romanist Alfons Hilka prepared an edition of this text which, however, was never published.

* In the process of co-editing the volume *Polyphonia Byzantina* and preparing the final version of his own contribution to this volume, Dr Edmé Smits suddenly died. At the request of the other editor, the text of Edmé's contribution was edited by Dr J.B. Voorbij. He checked the text and where necessary made improvements and additions, though with great reservations. He used the typescript of the edition of the Alexander story in MS. Königsberg 334, which Edmé Smits was preparing; this edition, which was nearly completed, will be published elsewhere. It is hoped that the form of the present article meets the standards which Edmé Smits set himself in all his scholarly work. The article was translated by Margaret Kofod.

The posthumous works of Alfons Hilka are kept in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Landesbibliothek in Göttingen. Hilka was born in 1877, obtained his doctorate in 1902 under Carl Appel in Breslau and took up residence there in 1912 as *Privatdozent*. In the same year he completed his *Habilitationsschrift*. After working as a substitute teacher for a time in Berlin (1914-1915), Hilka was appointed ordinarius in Greifswald (1918). His stay there was brief; in 1921 he went to Göttingen where he succeeded Stimming. He was to remain in Göttingen until his death in 1939. This period was interrupted by a visiting lectureship (1929-1930) at Columbia University in New York.

Although this scholar's oeuvre was impressive, relatively little attention was paid to him on the occasion of his death. A. Långfors wrote a few lines on his death in the journal *Romania* (65 [1939] 558) and E. Schröder commemorated Hilka in the *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (91 [1939-40] 37 ff.). It was not until 1967 that a bibliography of Hilka's works and a short but adequate appraisal of his scientific career were published. For Hilka Old French was central; his achievements as editor of the *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte* (1911-1914), of the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (1920-1934), of the *Romanische Bibliothek* (1921-1934) and of the *Sammlung romanischer Übungstexte* (1925-1934) were rightly praised. Appreciation was also expressed for Hilka's recognition of the significance of medieval Latin literature for Romance studies (Baum-Christmann 1967, 55-66). In spite of this last publication there is still not a complete picture of Hilka's activities. In his *Nachlaß* there are many surprising items which have more or less escaped attention: manuscripts and typescripts by Hilka himself and photographs of manuscripts of Old French and Medieval Latin texts.¹ To a certain extent Hilka's unpublished works have become known through publications in the seventies from typescripts kept in Göttingen. Bergmeister, Grossmann and Steffens saw to it that the first and second interpolated versions of the *Historia de Preliis* (*I*¹ and *I*²) were eventually published; they had in fact been ready for publication in the thirties, but the economic conditions had never been suitable (Hilka 1976, 1977; Hilka-Steffens 1979). Unfortunately there is practically nothing in these publications about Hilka's achievements. Bergmeister and Grossmann made no reference whatsoever to more recent literature. Steffens, on the other hand, brought the publication of *I*¹ up to date. I shall discuss these publications later.

Apart from these works there are several other unique items in Hilka's *Nachlaß*, especially the photographs of manuscripts which were destroyed in World War II. Hilka had a collection of photographs of about eighty-five manuscripts from more than thirty European libraries. Certain of them, MS. Berlin lat. qu. 555 and MS. Königsberg Universitätsbibliothek 334, have, as far as I know, been missing since 1945, so that these photographs now have the same value as manuscripts.

1 The availability of, for instance, the *I*² edition had already been pointed out by Ronge 1957, 33.

One of the typescripts preserved in Göttingen bears the title: *Drei Mischtexte zur Alexandersage*. These are editions of medieval Latin texts about Alexander the Great as these appear in the MSS. Paris, BN n.a.l. 310,² Mikulov (Nikolsburg), Fürst Dietrichsteinsche Bibliothek II, 112, and Königsberg, Universitätsbibliothek 334. The texts are typed out in full and Hilka has provided each with handwritten notes and a very short handwritten introduction. There is a detailed description of the first text in Rüdiger Schnell's edition (1989a) and for the sake of brevity I refer the reader to that publication. According to Hilka's introduction the second text is a compilation of passages about Alexander the Great culled from the works of Justinus, Orosius and Frutolf of Michelsberg and from the so-called *Zacher-Epitome* and the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*; the first interpolated version of the *Historia de Preliis* was also used here. The third text is the one which will be discussed in this article.³ In addition to Hilka's typescripts there are also photographs of each of these texts in Göttingen.

3 The Königsberg 334 manuscript

Unfortunately the Kaliningrad (Königsberg) 334 manuscript has been lost from sight. It may well have been destroyed in 1945 when the city was besieged; on the other hand the Königsberg library's possessions have ended up in many different places and this manuscript may eventually be found in one of them.⁴

Fortunately there is a description of the manuscript in the catalogue made by Julius Steffenhagen (1975, 64-6). There is also the series of photographs in Göttingen which Alfons Hilka had made of the Alexander passage in the manuscript. This information can provide the basis for a tentative specification of the manuscript.

In the first place we can assume that it is a *codex collecticius*. This is not actually stated in Steffenhagen's description, but the photographs suggest it.

The manuscript is made up of 228 parchment leaves and it dates from the fifteenth century.

The section of the manuscript containing the Alexander passage is fols. 57r - 115v. There are quire signatures on fol. 60v (*primus*), fol. 72v (*secundus*), fol. 84v (*tercius*), fol. 96v (*quartus*), and fol. 108v (*quintus*). There are catchwords on fols. 60v, 72v and 84v. On fols. 96v and 108v they are missing; they may have been cut off or not photographed.

This implies that the collation of this section is: 1⁴, 2-5¹².

On the basis of Steffenhagen's description we may infer the following collation formula for the whole manuscript, though of course there are several other possibilities: <1-7⁸, > 8⁴, 9-12¹², <13¹⁰⁺¹ (one leaf before 6), 14¹⁰⁻¹ (one leaf missing after 8), 15¹⁰⁻¹, 16-18⁸, 19⁸⁻¹, 20¹², 21-23⁸, 24⁶, 25¹²>.

2 Published (without extensive use of Hilka's typescript) by Schnell 1989a.

3 Edmé Smits was preparing an edition of the Königsberg Alexander text; this work will be completed by members of the Department of Medieval Studies in Groningen.

4 Inquiries in the Biblioteka Główna in Toruń (Poland) and in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz yielded no information. See also Komorowski 1980.

Contents:

- Quires 1-4 (4 x 8)
1r-32b Martinus of Braga, *Formula vitae honestae* <Tractatus de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus per exempla antiquorum>
- Quires 5-7 (3 x 8)
33r-56v Aurea Bulla Caroli IV
- Quires 8-12 (1 x 4 and 4 x 12)
57r-115v Historia Alexandri Magni
- Quire 13 (1 x 10 + 1)
116r-120v and 122r-126r Ioannes Presbyter, <De ritu et moribus Indorum>
- Quire 14 (1 x 10 - 1)
126r-133v and 121r + v Landulphus <Radulphus> de Columna, *De translatione imperii*
134v *Remedia* written in hexameters
- Quire 15 (1 x 10-1 or 1 x 12-3)
135r-143v Ioannes de Mandeville, *Itinerarius* (some loss of text at beginning and end)
- Quires 16-19 (3 x 8 + 1 x 8-1)
144r-171v Theodorus of Apolda, *Vita sanctae Elisabethae Landgraviae Thuringiae*
172r-174v empty
- Quire 20 (1 x 12)
175r-185r Ioannes Canaparius, *Vita sancti Adalberti episcopi Pragensis*
186r + v empty
- Quires 21-24 (3 x 8 + 1 x 6)
187r-214v Adalbertus of Brescia, *Liber de consolatione et consilio*, with a number of apophthegms in German at the end
215r-216r Narratio. Inc.: *Pro solacio narro, quod audivi. Fuit in diebus illis...*
216v *Ad incaustum faciendum* — item aliud bonum incaustum
- Quire 25 (1 x 12)
217r-228v Sermones aliaque theologica

The final line of the Alexander section is: *Finitur historia Allexandri Magni Anno domini 1412 Mensis Julij In castro fredek.*

4 The Königsberg Text

After a short introduction containing a brief summary of Alexander's reign and a characterization of Alexander himself, the adapter explains his method of working. Then the story begins, with the flight of the Egyptian magician Nectanebus from Egypt to Macedonia. While king Philip is away, Nectanebus seduces Olympias, who later bears Alexander. Philip, however, aware of the facts, declares that he is prepared to bring Alexander up as his own son. After giving a description of Alexander's childhood the text continues with Philip's death. Alexander advises the princes of the land to choose a king with the best possible qualities, and at their invitation he himself succeeds Philip. Alexander also asks the princes to recognize God. Then he begins his conquests. Via Italy and Sicily he crosses over to Africa, which he conquers, together with Egypt. Then he proceeds to Syria. After the destruction of Tyrus, Alexander proceeds to Jerusalem, where he falls on his knees before the high priest, because God has appeared to him in a dream predicting that Alexander would conquer Asia.

Alexander conceives the plan of marching against Persia through the desert through which the Jews had returned from their exile. However, at their advice he chooses the route through Greece and the Taurus mountains. On returning to

Greece Alexander meets with rebellion. Thebes and Athens resist his authority, and Thebes is razed to the ground. After Alexander has received a royal welcome in Corinth and attended the games there, an Athenian delegation led by Demosthenes manages to procure Alexander's favour. After overcoming all these difficulties, Alexander proceeds to Asia. King Darius first writes letters to the governors of the provinces where Alexander can be expected, instructing them to destroy his army and to capture Alexander himself. Alexander proceeds to the Taurus mountains via Sicily. Darius has a low opinion of the Greek king, which he expresses in a derogatory letter. Nevertheless, Alexander pushes on. After more correspondence between the two kings, Alexander returns to Macedonia because his mother Olympias is ill. When he arrives, she has just recovered. Alexander resumes his original plan to attack Asia.

He defeats Darius's army four times. Darius is mortally wounded by two of his princes while escaping after the last battle. Alexander finds Darius, addresses him courteously and promises to punish his murderers, which he in fact does. In the East Alexander subjugates many other peoples, becomes acquainted with the various customs there and with all sorts of strange and wonderful matters. His most important adversary, king Porus of India, is defeated and killed. After an encounter with the Brahmins, a visit to the trees of the Sun and Moon and a visit to the court of queen Cleophis Candacis from which he barely escapes with his life, Alexander makes a journey through the air, drawn by griffins, and descends to the bottom of the sea. Then he returns to Babylon. There he dies; a number of sages speak at his grave. Finally there is a short appraisal of Alexander's life and achievements.

From this short summary, which of course leaves many episodes untouched, it should be clear, at least to those familiar with medieval Alexander literature, that the second interpolated version (*I*²) of the *Historia de Preliis* forms the framework of this story. But before taking a closer look at the genesis of the Königsberg text, we will discuss the most important texts which contributed to this adaptation. There are four of these.

5 The component parts of the Königsberg text

The Königsberg text is a curious compilation of texts which almost without exception go back to the work written by the author commonly referred to as Pseudo-Callisthenes. This work came into existence in the third century A.D. in Egypt and contains many elements which would have had a strong appeal for the medieval world: Alexander's descent from the Egyptian magician/king Nectanebus, Nectanebus's death at Alexander's hand, the taming of the horse Bucephalus, the oracle of Seraphis, Alexander's visit in disguise to Darius, the trees of the Sun and Moon, etc.

This text, of which there are several different versions, reached Western Europe via two different routes. The first is that of the translation into Latin of Greek texts in late Antiquity. The α -version of Pseudo-Callisthenes became known through its translation by Julius Valerius (ca. 310; see Herzog 1989, 212-

4). This text had its widest circulation in an abridged version which was written earlier than the ninth century; nowadays, it is known by the name *Zacher-Epitome*, after the first publisher (Zacher 1867). Again, there are several different versions of this *Epitome*; the *Liegnitz-Historia* (also known as *Liegnitz-Epitome*), which will be discussed below in paragraph 5.2, has also, erroneously, been regarded as one of these.

Another representative of the α -version arrived in the Latin language area via a completely different route. This text came to Western Europe via the Near East, Northern Africa and Spain: it is the Arabic text *Mukhtar al-Hikam wa Mahasin al-Kalim* (1048/49) by Al-Mubashshir Ibn Fatik. We will not discuss the earlier history of this text here. It was translated into Spanish before 1257 and given the title *Bocados de Oro*. Probably at the end of the thirteenth century a Latin translation of this text was made, with the title *Liber Philosophorum Moralium Antiquorum*. This will be discussed in paragraph 5.4.

Another branch of Pseudo-Callisthenes reached Latin Western Europe several centuries later. In this case it was a direct contact with the Greek language area which proved fruitful. In the tenth century Leo, Archipresbyter of Naples, translated from Greek into Latin a δ -version, which he had discovered during a stay in Constantinople. The oldest manuscript of this translation by Leo was used by the historian Frutolf of Michelsberg as a source for an important passage in his *Liber Chronicorum*, which was also used in the Königsberg text. Frutolf will be discussed in paragraph 5.3.

Leo's text was enormously successful and in several different versions it became well-known all over Western Europe. One of these versions, the so-called second interpolated version of the *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni*, provides the framework for the Königsberg text; it will be discussed in more detail in paragraph 5.1.

In anticipation of the conclusions we can already state that on balance two versions of an α -tradition and two versions of a δ -tradition converge in the Königsberg text.

5.1 'Historia de Preliis I²'

As stated above, the *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni* (hence: *HdP*) and especially the second interpolated version of it (*I²*) is by far the most important source for the Alexander history which will be discussed below. Ultimately the *HdP* goes back to a Greek manuscript of the δ -version of Pseudo-Callisthenes's Alexander romance.

In about 950 Leo, Archipresbyter of Naples, found a manuscript of the Alexander romance in Constantinople, where he had been sent on a diplomatic mission for Duke John III of Campania (928-968/9). He copied this manuscript and took it with him to the court of Naples, where Duchess Theodora played a part in the secular culture which flourished there. Later the Duke commissioned Leo to translate the work. The result, the *Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni*, was the starting point of the widely spread tradition of the *HdP*.

Leo's translation itself has not survived in its original form. Three texts are important for a reconstruction of it. The manuscript which is closest to the original is MS. Bamberg E.iii.14, which includes a prologue telling the story of Leo's mission to Constantinople and his commission to translate the work. The manuscript was probably sent from Italy to Bamberg in 1022 by Emperor Henry II. Frutolf of Michelsberg (see 5.3) used this manuscript for his *Liber Chronicorum*. A second copy of Leo's text is MS. London, Lambeth Palace 342. Unfortunately little is known of the history of this manuscript, which incidentally does not contain the whole text. A third text is the first interpolated version (*I¹*) of the *HdP*. In the eleventh century Leo's work was stylistically improved; various episodes, such as adapted versions of the Indian tracts (*Commonitorium Palladii*, *Dindimus de Bragmanibus*, *Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo*) and the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* were also added (Hilka-Steffens 1979).

The *I²* (second interpolated version) derives from this first interpolated version of the *HdP*. It is dated in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. This version is characterized by interpolations from, for instance, Valerius Maximus, Pseudo-Methodius, Josephus, Pseudo-Epiphanius, but especially from Orosius. For this reason it is also known as the Orosius redaction. This text was first published by Alfons Hilka (1920). Since this edition was based on only a small number of the extremely numerous manuscripts, Hilka prepared an *editio maior*, which was finished in the thirties, but — as has been mentioned above — could not be printed owing to economic difficulties. The manuscript, ready for printing, is still in Göttingen. It was finally published in 1976-77 by H.-J. Bergmeister and R. Grossmann (Hilka 1976; 1977).⁵ Unfortunately this was a very bad edition. Although one is compelled to admire the enormous bulk of his oeuvre, Hilka's work, in my experience, is not always reliable; but what Bergmeister and in particular Grossmann made of it was simply inexcusable. The decision of the 'editors' not to include in the critical apparatus all the manuscripts which had been discovered since the thirties may be understandable;⁶ that these manuscripts were not even named and that there is no reference to literature in which this information can be found, is not. The introduction was not up-dated; there are many careless mistakes in the information about the manuscripts and the text of the second part abounds with typing errors and absurdities.⁷ Hilka deserved better.

I¹ was adapted a second time, independently of *I²*, and this adaptation is known as *I³*. This text was published by Steffens, who based the edition on Hilka's preparatory work (Steffens 1975). Steffens made use of the new information which had come to light since Hilka's death, up-dated the introduction and produced reliable work.

5 Bergmeister 1975 had already prepared a synoptic edition of books I and II of Leo, *HdP I¹, I² and I³* (cf. Ballaira 1976). Part 2 was not published. See Smits 1978 for further information on the text tradition of *I²*.

6 Steffens, however, does not omit this information; see Hilka-Steffens 1979, xxviii.

7 The thanks expressed for the *Korrekturlesen* by Bergmeister and Merkelbach on page 22* of the first part is not to be found in the second part. Apparently this task, surely an essential one, was omitted altogether.

There is an excellent translation of *I*¹, *I*² and *I*³ by W. Kirsch (1984), who had already produced an equally excellent edition of Quilichinus of Spoleto's Alexander epic, which goes back to *I*³ (Kirsch 1971).

5.2 Liegnitz-*Historia*'

In 1911 Alfons Hilka published a text which is now known as the Liegnitz-*Historia* (Hilka 1911). The text was found in MS. 51 (fifteenth century) of the church of SS. Peter and Paul in Liegnitz and originally came from the Carthusian monastery which was founded there in 1423. The heading above the text in the manuscript is: *Historia Allexandri Magni compendiose*. According to Hilka it is an adaptation of Julius Valerius's *Epitome* (Zacher-*Epitome*). The adaptation is quite free; there are numerous interpolations and abridgements in it, as well as changes in the order of events. One of the lengthiest, though not the most exclusive, additions is the story about Saraballa and Alexander's march to Jerusalem, which the Liegnitz epitomizer took from Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*.⁸ Numerous minor characteristics of the Liegnitz-*Historia* seem to be independent, such as the role of Olympias: whereas in other Alexander stories she and Philip are both deceived, in this version she is constantly in league with Nectanebus. Another curious detail is the motivation given for Alexander's route from Jerusalem to Persia: Alexander wished to march through the desert through which the Jews had returned from exile. However, the Jews advised him to march via Greece, Cylicia and the Taurus mountains, because the journey through the desert would present many difficulties.

Hilka himself (1911, 5-12) attempted to trace in detail the sources for the strange beginning of the Liegnitz-*Historia*: the description of the tower built on four glass lobsters, with a magic emerald mirror in which Nectanebus saw the Persian ships under King Artaxerxes approaching; Artaxerxes's countermeasures, which consisted of having his magicians build a magic ship; and the observation that it seemed to Nectanebus that all the mountains and forests had set out to sea, which brought him to realize that Artaxerxes's magic was a match for his own black witchcraft. Hilka's efforts were successful only for the beginning of this episode: the four lobsters apparently go back to a description of the *Pharos*, the famous lighthouse of Alexandria. The adapter used that description from Pseudo-Beda's *De septem miraculis mundi*⁹ and combined it with Nectanebus's actions. The mirror can be traced back to various Arabic texts. Hilka was unable to find any source for Artaxerxes's clever stratagems or for the moving mountains and forests.

Hilka was able to point to similar passages in Middle Dutch *Historiebijbels*, in the Middle Low German *Seelentrost*¹⁰ (Hilka 1911, 14-6) and in the *Res gestae*

8 The same thing happens for example in the *Historia de Preliis I*² (Hilka 1911, 3) and in the supplement to Quintus Curtius Rufus (Smits 1987).

9 Published by Omont 1882.

10 For more information on the Middle Dutch *Historiebijbels* see Hoogstra 1898, and Deschamps 1972, 152-9; for the *Seelentrost* and its connections with the *Historiebijbels* see Schmitt 1959, and Andersson-Schmitt 1960.

Principum et Regum Poloniae of Vincentius Kadłubek (1160-1225) (Hilka 1911, 13-4). On the basis of this last work and the location of the Liegnitz-manuscript Hilka surmises influence from Slavic (and Byzantine) chronicles.

Finally, Hilka shows that the text was part of a larger chronicle or was meant to be inserted between the Bible books Esther and Maccabees.

This text was published under the title Liegnitz-*Epitome* by Hilka (1911), but Pfister (1911a) believes it would be more correct to refer to the text as 'Liegnitzer *Historia*'. He ascertains that the text deviates significantly from Julius Valerius and the Zacher-*Epitome* on more than one point; comparison with these two texts shows that large sections are missing and others from various sources have been added. There is also little similarity in language and style. In a later article Pfister (1911b, esp. 1156) again points to the Arabic material already discovered by Hilka in the Liegnitz-*Historia*. He suggests that the designation *Epitome* should be avoided, because it implies that the Liegnitz text is a summary of a larger text, and he opts for the title: Liegnitz-*Historia*.

5.3 Frutolf of Michelsberg's 'Chronicon'

Little is known about Frutolf's life. He came from a wealthy background and entered the Benedictine monastery of Michelsberg near Bamberg. He lived and worked there at the end of the eleventh century and died on 17 January 1103.

Frutolf was prior of this monastery and performed tasks in the library. A catalogue made by the librarian Burchard in 1140 lists which books had been added to the collection by the latter's predecessors. He comments on Frutolf: *subnotatos libros pie memorie Frutolfus, cenobii huius prior, huic loco contuli, quos manu sua pene omnes ipse scripsit*. Frutolf himself therefore copied books for the collection, but it is also known that he composed several didactic books, of which his most important work is the *Liber Chronicorum*. For a long time Ekkehard of Aura was regarded as the author of this work, but Bresslau (1896) showed that the greater part of the work was written by Frutolf. An autograph of the chronicle has survived which ends at around 1100. This autograph was adapted and continued by Ekkehard after Frutolf's death. There were several redactions of the work, of which the last, written in 1125, had the widest circulation (Mulder-Bakker 1983, 57-63).

There are two descriptions of Alexander's life in Frutolf's work. The first is integrated into the story of the chronicle, the second is presented as a lengthy digression. Frutolf bases the first story on Frechulf of Lisieux's *Chronicon* and the second on Leo Archipresbyter's *Nativitas et victoria Alexandri Magni*, letters from Alexander to his mother Olympias and a number of passages from Orosius via Frechulf. The Leo text and the letters were then — and still are — located in Bamberg (MS. E.iii.14) (Mulder-Bakker 1983, 95).

Frutolf's second Alexander story, the digression, also circulated in the Middle

Ages in separate codices, independently of the *Liber Chronicorum*.¹¹

The text of the *Liber Chronicorum* was published by Waitz 1844 and (with a German translation) by Schmale-Ott 1972; a new MGH edition is being prepared by F.-J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott.¹²

5.4 'Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum'

The *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum* is a translation of the Spanish text *Bocados de Oro* (before 1257). This work is in its turn a translation of Al-Mubashshir Ibn Fatik's *Mukhtar al-Hikam wa Mahasin al-Kalim*, which is dated in 1048/49. The author was born in Damascus in 1020 or a few years earlier and spent his life in Egypt. He came from a distinguished family. In his youth he studied astronomy, mathematics, philosophy and medicine. The *Mukhtar al-Hikam* is the only one of his works which has survived. It contains a large number of stories by and about well-known persons from classical Antiquity.

The passage about Alexander was published, with a German translation, by B. Meissner (1895). A. Badawî (1958) prepared a modern edition of the complete work, and important additions concerning the history of this work in Western Europe were published by F. Rosenthal (1961).

The Latin translation was probably made at the end of the thirteenth century. The translation has been ascribed (by Sabbadini 1932-33) to the well-known politician and doctor Giovanni da Procida (died in 1299), but this is not very likely (Kristeller 1945 and Billanovich 1948). Kristeller believes there is a possibility that King Robert of Naples, whose name is mentioned in a fourteenth-century Venetian manuscript as translator, played a role in the realization of the Latin version. The king employed translators to make translations from Arabic and Greek for him (Kristeller 1945, 171 n. 115).

The history of the manuscripts was researched by Billanovich (1948) and the text was published by Franceschini (1931-32). An edition prepared by S. de Renzi had already been published in 1854 with the title *Placita philosophorum moralium antiquorum (ex Graeco in Latinum translata a magistro Ioanne de Procida, magno cive Salernitano)*.

6 Use of sources in Königsberg 334 (Kg): a lacuna restored

As stated, the four works discussed above provide the basis material of the Königsberg Alexander text. With the exception of the *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum*, there are quotations from these works throughout the whole

text. In contrast, the *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum* is mainly used in various letters (Alexander-Darius, Darius-satrapas, Alexander-Porus) and at the beginning and end. In the passage from MS. Königsberg 334 (hence: Kg) discussed below no use was made of the *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum* and that source will be left out of the discussion almost completely.¹³

The *HdP I²*, which forms the basis of the Königsberg text, has survived in numerous manuscripts. Hilka divided these manuscripts into three large groups which he called α , β and γ . Within group β he distinguished a subgroup δ which is characterized by the omission of chapters 36-54.¹⁴ Because Hilka regarded Kg as another manuscript of *I²* he assigned it to that group. It should be noted that Kg does not in fact contain these chapters, but that the gap is filled up with passages from other Alexander texts. So it would be more accurate to state that these chapters had been missing from some *Vorlage* of Kg.

What is missing in Kg and is told in chapters 36-54 of *I²* (Hilka 1976, 110-54) is the following:

Alexander's fight with Darius's commandant Amonta and Amonta's flight to Darius, who speaks to him of the Macedonians' strength (36). Alexander's conquest of Gordium and the scene at Troy where Alexander comments that he would rather have been a pupil of Homer than have gained the glory of Achilles (37). Alexander's return to Macedonia because of Olympias's illness; when Alexander arrives Olympias has recovered (38). Thebes resists Alexander and is razed to the ground (39). Alexander attends the Corinthian games and gives the Theban Clitomachus permission to rebuild Thebes (40). A priestess of Diana in Platea predicts that Alexander will rule the world and that the prince of Platea, Strasagoras, will lose his position, all of which happens (41). The Athenians, at the instigation of Strasagoras, revolt against Alexander, who then sends them a letter in which he gives them a choice: fight or submit (42). The Athenians, after a discussion among themselves, submit and send Alexander a golden crown (43). Alexander, resenting their doubts, sends the Athenians a threatening letter. A strategem of Alexander's tutor Anaximenes saves the city from destruction (44). The Lacedemonians want to revolt, Alexander writes that they must submit. After some fighting the Lacedemonians are persuaded. Alexander grants their city liberty (45). Alexander goes to Chalcedon via Cyzicus and Byzantium and conquers it (22). The citizens of Abdira refuse to surrender to Alexander through fear of retaliation by Darius. Alexander persuades them to open the gates. Alexander deftly suppresses grumbling amongst the soldiers. The army arrives in Locrus (38). Darius summons a council of war; he is impressed by Alexander and is afraid of losing his position. His brother Oxiather and other Persian princes express various opinions on the most efficacious way to deal with Alexander (46). Description of the size of Alexander's army (47). Alexander conquers Armenia and crosses the Euphrates (48). Nostadi, one of Darius's commandants, writes Darius a warning letter describing Alexander's feats. Darius writes to Nostadi telling him to prepare for battle (56). One of Darius's princes offers to betray Darius. Alexander rejects the offer (51). Darius's princes

11 See Schmale 1971, esp. 133; also Waitz 1844, 16: "Ultimo loco codices nominandi sunt, quibus historiae illae Alexandri, Gothorum (...) leguntur: (...) In aliis denique libris mss. sola Alexandri Magni historia invenitur: e.gr. Monacensi, Hannoverano, Weimarensi, Ienensi." Cf. *Archiv* VII, 486-91 and VIII, 692 and 698.

12 See the most recent progress report in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 42 (1986) v.

13 In the edition of Kg presently being prepared for publication the use of the *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum* as a source will be discussed in more detail.

14 These chapter numbers correspond to the continuous numbering which Zingerle (1885) used for the *capitula* in *HdP I¹*. In their edition of Hilka's *HdP I²* Bergmeister (Hilka 1976) and Grossmann (Hilka 1977) refer to Zingerle's numbering for the separate *capitula* (Grossmann does not account for this in any way). The *capitula* numbers of *HdP I¹* and *HdP I²* do not match up completely. The chapter numbers named below are in accordance with the edition of Hilka 1976. On p. 19* of that edition there is an incorrect statement that the lacuna in question consists of chapters 36-59.

Stapsi and Sphictir ask Darius for aid against Alexander (52). Darius writes Alexander an unfriendly letter (53), Alexander responds with a threatening letter (54).

Most of the section of *I²* which is missing from *Kg* has been filled in from the *Excerptum de vita Alexandri* in Frutolf's *Chronicon*, which like *I²* is a δ -text of the Alexander romance. This means that filling in the gap is a fairly simple matter, although Frutolf's text is certainly not used in its entirety. Examples of incidents which are not used are:

- 1 The visit to the oracle in Tragachantes (Waitz 1844, 65 lines 27-29). This story occurs earlier in *Kg*, as it does in *I²* (see Hilka 1976, 64-6);
- 2 Alexander's illness after bathing in the river and his cure by the doctor Philip-pus (Waitz 1844, 65 line 68 — 66 line 11). In *Kg* this story is told a few chapters later, in the *I²* version, with a few details from Frutolf (Hilka 1976, 170-4);
- 3 The assault on Alexander by a Persian disguised as a Macedonian in the battle against Darius's five generals (Waitz 1844, 66 lines 27-33). This scene, which can easily stand by itself, was left out for the same reason: in *Kg* it is told in the *I²* version (Hilka 1976, 178).

Frutolf's *Chronicon* is also not the main source for the passage corresponding to the edition Waitz 1844, 65 lines 29-52 which tells of events in Thebes, Corinth and Athens. Frutolf's work does play a role in the actual description of these events, as we shall see below.

That Frutolf's work is no longer used as a guideline is a consequence of the fact that in *Kg* the events in question are told at a different point in the Alexander history than one would expect on the basis of *I²*. In *I²* these episodes are placed after Alexander's return to Macedonia (*I²* ch. 39: Hilka 1976, 116 ff.) In *Kg* they are placed directly after the events which take place in Jerusalem (cf. *I²* ch. 28: Hilka 1976, 88). The reason for this is that a text was taken from a completely different source, Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, which in its turn had been supplemented by a passage from the *Liegnitz-Historia*. After setting forth his views to the Samaritans, at the end of chapter 28 in *Kg*, Alexander considers (in Judaea) marching against the Persians through the desert. At the advice of the Jews he decides on a route via Greece, Sicily and the Taurus mountains (*Kg* fol. 70r-v):

*Descendens ergo Alexander de Ierosolima dimisso ibidem Andromacho suo direxit exercitus (Kg: exercitos) suos ad reliquas ciuitates, et quocumque ueniebat, ab omnibus honorabatur et amabiliter recipi<eb>atur (cf. I² ch. 28: Hilka 1976, 88). Videntes autem Samaritane munificenciam Alexandri Iudeis factam cognatos se dixerunt esse Iudeorum, originem suam ab Effraym et Manasse recensentes et postulauerunt ut templum eorum in Gaziram honoraret. Quod in reditu eius facturum se promisit. [f.70v] Cumque peterent ab eo relaxacionem tributi septimi anni, quesuiuit ab eis qui essent. Et dixerunt se Hebreos esse. Cumque adderet Alexander si essent Iudei, illi se Iudeos esse negauerunt. Respondit ergo eis: 'Iudeis hoc tantum concessi' (Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, Esther IV: Migne PL198, 1497C).*

Post hec Alexander disposuit ire contra Persas per desertum illud per quod Iudei sepius a captiuitate redierant; sed quia difficilis erat inde transitus propter neccessariorum defectum, Iudei qui cum eo erant persuaserunt ut potius per Greciam irent et Siciliam et per montem Thaurum (Liegnitz-Historia: Hilka 1911, 24, lines 27-30).

So Alexander returns to Greece (beginning of ch. 39); this is followed by an account of events in Thebes, Corinth and Athens and of the first contacts with Darius.

This section has been very much shortened. The Thebes episode from *I²* has for the most part been replaced by the shorter equivalent from the *Liegnitz-Historia*, supplemented by a few sentences from Frutolf's *Chronicon* (ch. 39). The replacement for *I²* ch. 40 (Corinth) also comes from the *Liegnitz-Historia*. Ch. 41 from *I²* is missing altogether in *Kg*. Ch. 42 of *I²* is replaced by passages from Frutolf's *Chronicon* and the *Liegnitz-Historia*. This gives the Athens events quite a different character. In *I²* the Athenians are angry with Alexander because Stragoras, prince of Platea (whose story is told in ch. 41), has been robbed of his ruling position by Alexander. Alexander hears about the Athenians' indignation and presents them with an ultimatum. In *Kg* the Athenians close the gates on Alexander's arrival. He sends them a letter proposing that they either accept him as king or fight. In their reply the Athenians reject his proposal angrily. Alexander then suggests that the Athenians send him a delegation.

Ch. 43 of *I²* has been replaced by a much shorter passage from Frutolf. The same thing happens in ch. 44, but there the *Liegnitz-Historia* is also used.¹⁵

Then ch. 32 follows in *Kg*: Darius has heard about Alexander's successes in Greece. This causes him to write letters spurring his satraps on to action (in this section there are many quotations from the *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum*). The situation becomes more and more menacing, but in ch. 35 Alexander is told that his mother Olympias is ill. In ch. 38 he returns to Macedonia. In *I²* the events in Thebes, Corinth and Athens take place at this point, but in *Kg* Alexander returns to Asia in a few lines.¹⁶

From this point onwards *I²* is followed fairly consistently. It may be noted that chapters 49-50 are missing in *I²* but have been taken from Frutolf's *Chronicon* for *Kg*. In this passage members of Darius's family are taken captive by Alexander. On the other hand, in *Kg* the text corresponding to that of the edition of Hilka 1976, 148-54 is missing.

The additions from Frutolf's *Chronicon* were essential for a satisfactory composition. For example, without them the reference to Olympias's illness in ch. 35 (*Kg* fol. 75r: *Interim uenerunt nuncii de Macedonia, nunciantes ei infirmitatem matris sue Olimpiadis*) would be left hanging in the air and nothing would be known about the identity of the group of Darius's relatives taken captive by Alexander. However, in some cases the additions do result in an ordering of events in

¹⁵ Ch. 45 and 22 of *I²* (events in Lacedemonia and Byzantium) are missing in *Kg*.

¹⁶ So pp. 116-8 of edition Hilka 1976 are dropped at this point, or, seen in a different light, are used earlier.

the story which is different from that in *I*². For instance, in *Kg* the battle with Darius's general, his flight to Darius and Alexander's march through Achaia, the Taurus mountains, Persepolis and Phrygia and his visit to Troy have become events our hero meets with on his way back to Macedonia. But in general we can state that the missing part of *I*² has been successfully replaced by additions from Frutolf.

According to the passage quoted above from the *Liegnitz-Historia*, Alexander returned to Greece at the suggestion of the Jews. Use of this quotation probably led to texts from the following chapters of the *Liegnitz-Historia* also being added (see also description above): ch. 39 return to Greece; Thebes; ch. 40 Corinth; ch. 42 Athens; and ch. 44 Athens. So, after Frutolf's *Chronicon*, the *Liegnitz-Historia* was the second source used to restore the lacuna of ch. 36-54 in *HdP I*².

7 Conclusion

In this paper I have presented a brief review of the way in which various branches of Pseudo-Callisthenes's original romance, which arrived in Central Europe via several different routes, eventually converged in the new text as we see it in *Kg*. It has also become clear that the adapter has done a very precise job of filling in the gaps in his *Vorlage* and making his Alexander story more 'complete' by skilfully weaving elements from other available material into the basic structure of *HdP I*² and avoiding overlapping and repetition.

There is one further observation to be made. The *HdP* can be regarded as a 'texte vivante'. Nearly all of its manuscripts represent longer and shorter variants.¹⁷ In the terminology of Zumthor (1972, 65-82): each manuscript is a 'manifestation' of the 'texte' *HdP*. This is even more true of *Kg*, a text which has been carefully compiled from various other stories. *Kg* is the result of intellectual labour.

There is also another argument for regarding *Kg* as a 'manifestation' of what may be called a new 'texte'. Berschin (1986, 27) cites the presence of a *praefatio* as an argument for regarding an adaptation of a hagiography as an independent text: "Wer seiner Bearbeitung eine Praefatio beifügt, tritt aus der Schreibstube heraus und will mehr als nur korrigieren." If this is true of adaptations of medieval hagiographies, it is also true of texts from the Alexander tradition, even if, as in the case of *Kg*, the preface has been compiled from the prologue of Frutolf's *Chronicon* (cf. Waitz 1844, 61, lines 29-36 and 62, lines 1-11). The *praefatio* of *Kg* is as follows (fol. 57r-v):

Alexander rex Macedonum uicesimus, Philippi regis ut putabatur filius, regnauit annis duodecim, sex adhuc stante regno Persarum, post iterum sex qui in ordine temporis <com>putabantur et numerantur. Hic paruus statura, ferox natura, uir magni fuit animi, sani consilii, quietis in paciens, semper ad alciora contendens crudelis semperque sa<n>guinem humanum siciens,

unde non solum de extraneis, sed etiam de suis (Kg: suos) multos occidit. Inter quos amicam annis grauem et amicitia sibi coniunctam occidit; Calistonem quoque philosophum sibi apud Aristotilem condiscipulum cum multis regni principibus interemit.

Alexander quoque post mortem Darii regnauit annis sex, a reedificatione templi anno centesimo lxxxvi^{to}. <Duodecim> quippe annis tremement sub se orbem ferro pressit, sed sex postremi eius anni quibus destructo Persarum imperio monarchiam tenuit orbis, in ordine temporum numerantur, priores uero sex sub regno Persarum computantur. Omnium itaque circumpositarum gentium nacionibus sibi subiugatis in Indiam tetendit, castigauit eamque sibi cum omnibus regnis Orientalibus subiecit. Postquam uero multa miranda peregit, dominus diuersarum nacionum nominatus est. Anno etatis sue trecesimo apud Babiloniam magnam, cum adhuc sanguinem siciret, ministri sui insidiis uenenum bibit et interiit. Quo mortuo duces Macedonum diuersas sortiti prouincias, ipso tamen uiuo disponente[m], mutuis se bellis consumpserunt et orbem celeriter et fortiter [f.57v] acquisitum quatuordecim annis ueluti predam optimam a magno leone prostratam auidi catuli auidis dilaniauerunt morsibus et discerpserunt.

Sed quia idem Alexander multa mira legitur peregissee que scire multi delectantur, libros de uita eius aliquos particulariter discerpere quero, ut animis delectacionem querencium ualeam satisfacere. Nunc uenio ad suorum gestorum narrationem.

One might object that this is a compilation of Frutolf of Michelsberg's prologue to his Alexander passage, and not an original text by the adapter of *Kg*. However, in the Middle Ages compilation was a respected technique of producing new work; even if the material was old, the composition was the work of the author. This point of view is aptly expressed in the work which may be regarded as the largest product of the compilation technique in the Western Middle Ages: the immense *Speculum maius* by the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais, who died in 1264. In the *Libellus apologeticus*, the general prologue to his work, Vincent explains how collecting as much existing material as possible, re-ordering it and abbreviating it results in a new work. His words provide a satisfactory description of what the adapter of *Kg* was to accomplish about two centuries later. I let Vincent of Beauvais speak for himself (*Libellus Apologeticus* ch. 3 (4) *De utilitate operis et apologia actoris*):

Porro, ne quis in hoc opere uel de nouitate uel de nimia prolixitate me extimet arguendum, quoniam hoc ipsum nouum opus quidem est simul et antiquum, breue quoque simul et prolixum: antiquum certe materia et auctoritate, nouum uero compilatione seu partium aggregatione, breue quoque propter multorum dictorum in breui perstrictionem, longum uero nihilominus propter immensam materie multitudinem (Lusignan 1979, 118).

This is why I believe I am justified in speaking in the title of this article of various Alexander traditions resulting in a 'new text'.

¹⁷ For the importance of this point see also Schnell 1989b, 46-7.

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Hans Eideneier

άλύσκωσα

In der Vierfüßlergeschichte (Tsiouni 1972) lesen wir 181ff:

- 185 'Ο κύων δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν τοῦ ποντικοῦ λαλοῦντος
τὸ ὄνομα, τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην φήμην,
ἀψὸς, γοργὸς ἐπήδησεν, ἐστάθη εἰς τὸ μέσον
καὶ πρὸς τὸν κάτην ἔτεινεν λόγους τινὰς ὀλίγους:
'Εδὰ κρατεῖ με ἡ ἐντροπή καὶ ἡ ὑποταγή μου
ἀμὴ νὰ πῆδησα δαμίν, νὰ 'χαψα τὴν οὐράν σου
καὶ νὰ σὲ ἀκροτίναξα μέσον τοῦ συνεδρίου, ...

Die Herausgeberin setzt in V.186 νὰ πῆδησα nach der Handschrift L in den Text. Die anderen Handschriften haben an dieser Stelle nach der Herausgeberin ναχήσβωσα P bzw. ν' ἀλήσβωσα VC. Der frühere Herausgeber W. Wagner (CGMA) hatte ναχήσβωσα in P, ν' ἀλίσκωσα in V gelesen und ν' ἀλίσκω σε in den Text gesetzt.

Der paläographische Befund sieht tatsächlich so aus: ναχήσβωσα P, ναλίσκωσα VC, A om. Daraus ergibt sich eindeutig eine ursprüngliche Form ἀλίσκωσα, wie ich bereits in meiner Besprechung der Ausgabe Tsiouni in den ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ 28 (1975, 456) vermerkt habe. Meine dortigen Vermutungen über eine Form zu ἀλίσκω standen im Bann der Wagnerschen Ausgabe, dem sich auch Kriaras (1968) in seinem Lexikon s.v. ἀλίσκω angeschlossen hatte.

Dabei braucht die Stelle gar nicht 'geheilt' zu werden: ν' ἀλύσκωσα ist das Wort in der Form und in der Funktion, das an dieser Stelle von einem Hund zu erwarten ist: 'da hätte ich angefangen ein bisschen zu bellen.' Dieser Bedeutung war schon S. Xanthudidis (1926-27, 355) auf der Spur, indem er die Stelle in ν'

ἀλύκτησα verbessern und mit ὑλάκτησα erklären wollte.¹ In der Tat lässt sich ἀλυκτῶ für ὑλακτῶ etwa im Griechischen von Unteritalien nachweisen,² für die heutigen griechischen Dialekte zusammengefasst bei Andriotis 1974, Nr. 6171: ὑλακτῶ. Dort ist nicht zuletzt auf Hesych verwiesen, der bereits ἀλυκτῶ für ὑλακτῶ verzeichnet (s. zuletzt Konomis 1988, 416). Auch das Historische Lexikon der Athener Akademie bringt s.v. ἀλυκτῶ reiches Belegmaterial.

Nun gibt es neben den älteren Worttypen ὑλάω und ὑλακτῶ auch einen Worttyp ὑλάσκω (s. etwa Frisk 1970, s.v. ὑλάω; Schwyzer 1953, 704). Man könnte denken, wenn ein ὑλακτῶ zu ἀλυκτῶ wird, kann auch ein ὑλάσκω zu ἀλύσκω werden. Doch agr. ἀλύσκω ist ein anderes Wort und im übrigen wohl auch kaum das Präsens zu einer Aoristform ἀλύσκωσα. Hilfreich könnte sein, dass 1. ὑλάω nur im Präsensstamm vorkommt und 2. die 'expressiven Erweiterungen' ὑλακτέω und ὑλάσκω 'gewöhnlicher' sind (Frisk 1970 s.v. ὑλάω). Aoristformen sind also ausschliesslich bei den erweiterten Formen zu suchen und zu finden. Ist nun die in neugriechischen Dialekten noch gut nachweisbare Aoristform ἀλύχτησα eindeutig eine Weiterbildung aus ὑλάκτησα, so wäre die entsprechende Weiterbildung der altgriechischen Nebenform ὑλάσκω im Aorist problematisch: ein ὑλαξα ist im Altgriechischen nachweisbar (Liddell-Scott s.v. ὑλάσκω), diese Form hatte aber die für Tierlaute charakterischen Verbformen mit expressiver Erweiterung im Aorist verloren und etwa neben der charakteristischen ὑλάκτησα bzw. ἀλύχτησα kaum eine Überlebenschance. Und dennoch scheint ἀλύσκωσα nur als Aoristform zu ὑλάσκω erklärt werden zu können: stand ἀλύκτησα einmal neben älterem ὑλάκτησα, konnte sich analog dazu eine Aoristform ἀλύσκωσα bilden, ohne dass es dazu eine Präsensform (*ἀλύσκω) geben musste. Der expressiven Erweiterung auf -σκ- war somit Rechnung getragen.

καπιτρούλιος

I. Tsavari (1987) gibt die Verse des Pulologos 62ff wie folgt heraus:

Εἰπέ με, καλογερανέ, τί θέλεις εἰς τὸν γάμον
 μὲ τὸν μακρὺν τὸν σφόνδυλον, μὲ τὸ σῖβιν καπέλον;
 'Ὡς καπιτρούλλιον σκοπᾶς, θέλεις ἰδεῖν νὰ ἔχῃς
 65 καὶ εἶσαι καμηλόραχος, καμηλοπερπατάρης.

Der hier interessierende Vers 64 hat nur in E eine gänzlich abweichende Version, die hier nicht zur Debatte steht. Das ἰδεῖν ist — ohne Not — statt dem ἰδοῦ aller Handschriften von Tsavari in den Text gesetzt worden. καπιτρούλιον ist in CPVL überliefert.

1 'Εὰν γράψωμεν "ὑ'ἀλύκτησα δαμῖν" ἔχομεν ὀρθὴν καὶ καλὴν γραφὴν καὶ ἔννοιαν, ἥτοι ὑλάκτησα ἐκ ῥήματος μεσαιων. καὶ νεωτέρου ἀλυκτῶ = ὑλακτῶ.

2 Rohlf's 1972, 110 s.v.: ἀλυκτεῖ: "ἀλυκτεῖ = ὑλακτεῖ (la presenza in Creta è attestata già da Esichio): otr. to šiddo alifá. Antica forma regionale, condizionata da metatesi vocalica, anche altrove largamente diffusa: Cipro ἀλυχτᾶ, Corfú ἀλυχτάει, anche nel Peloponneso e nell'Epiro."

Die frühere Herausgeberin S. Krawczynski (1960) holt zur Erklärung von καπιτρούλιον weit aus und leitet das Wort letztendlich von καπικλάριος — 'der Schliessener, Aufpasser, Gefängnisaufseher' — ab, das seinerseits wieder auf lat. clavicularius zurückgeht. Das Wort καπικλάριος ist im Mittellgriechischen belegt (Kriaras 1968), was allerdings eher gegen eine doch erheblich abweichende 'Variante' καπιτρούλιος spricht. Geradezu abenteuerlich ist allerdings der Vorschlag der neueren Herausgeberin des Pulologos, Tsavari, καπιτρούλιος als Zusammensetzung aus lat. 'caput' und lat. 'trullus' zu sehen: καπιτρούλλιον εἶναι ἡ κεφαλὴ, δηλαδή τὸ ψηλότερο μέρος τοῦ τρούλλου ἢ μᾶλλον ὁ μεσαῖος τρούλλος, ποὺ εἶναι ψηλότερος ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄλλους (Tsavari 1987, 326). Eine zweite 'wahrscheinliche' Herleitung sei allerdings auch die aus lat. "capitulum > καπίτουλον > καπιτούλιον > καπιτρούλιον (= τὸ κιονόκρανο)".

Mit beiden Herleitungen kann ich schon allein deshalb nichts anfangen, weil Tsavari καπιτρούλιον hier offenbar als Neutrum τὸ καπιτρούλλιον (so auch im Glossar) versteht. Auch Krawczynski hatte einen Grundtyp τὸ καπιτρούλιον angenommen, wonach ich allerdings ihre Bedeutung 'Gefängnisaufseher' nicht mehr verstehe.

Diese Aporie wird auch bei Kriaras nicht gelöst, der s.v. καπιτρούλιον, το sowohl Krawczynskis als auch Tsavaris Thesen als πιθ(ανό) bezeichnet und das Neutrum mit αὐτός που κοιτάζει γύρο-γυρό ἀπὸ ψηλά erklärt.

Die erste Frage ist also nach dem Genus des Substantivs. Das Neutrum ergibt keinen Sinn, ein nach ὡς möglicher Akkusativ ist in diesem Text nicht belegt und widerspricht dem Gesamtstil. Ich hätte allerdings bei einem auslautenden -ον und einem folgenden anlautenden σ- keinerlei Bedenken, in καπιτρούλιος σκοπᾶς zu korrigieren und dies als Haplographie einzustufen.

Doch wer versteckt sich hinter einem καπιτρούλιος? Die zweite Vershälfte von V. 64 θέλεις ἰδοῦ νὰ ἔχῃς will ich als 'du willst (es) hier und jetzt bekommen' verstehen. Eine solche Interpretation, die ja nicht ganz aus der Luft gegriffen ist (Kriaras 1968, s.v. ἔχω Nr. 4), würde für καπιτρούλιος ein 'einnehmendes', ansonsten nicht sonderlich beliebtes Wesen nahelegen, das mit dem Verb σκοπῶ 'suchend herumschnüffelt' (so die Lexika). Ein solcher Mensch wäre bei der Steuerbehörde besonders gut aufgehoben, und ich darf daran erinnern, dass in der römischen Verwaltungssprache diejenigen, die die Kopfsteuer capitularium einzutreiben hatten, niemand anders waren als die capitularii (s. auch Meyer-Lübke 1968, Nr. 1639a).

Der grosse phonetische Sprung von καπιτουλάριος zu καπιτρούλιος erscheint bereits klein, wenn wir eine doppelte Metathese annehmen. Da ich die Zwischenformen nicht belegen kann, will ich es auch unterlassen, Hypothesen darüber vorzutragen, was zuerst metathetisiert wurde. An der Interpretation 'du schaust und suchst wie ein Steuereinnahmer und willst (alles) hier und jetzt bekommen' würde das ja auch nichts ändern.

Im Pulologos (Tsavari 1987) 350ff lesen wir:

Εἰ δὲ πολλάκις καὶ συμβῇ κανεῖς νὰ σὲ πιάσῃ,
κανεῖς πτωχὸς πραγματευτῆς, ἄνθρωπος τῆς κατζάνης,
σφάζει σε, μὲ τὸ ὑπέρπυρον βάνει σε εἰς τὸ πουργίν του,
ὡς θυγατέραν τάχατε τοῦ καρτζανᾶ, ὀφελέσιν·

Die Handschriften CPVL überliefern in 351 τῆς κατζάνης, E τῆς τζαγανίστης. Im Glossar der Ausgabe Tsavari steht zu κατζάνη, (ή): 'ἄγνωστης σημασίας'.

Die ältere Herausgeberin des Pulologos, S. Krawczynski (1960), schreibt zu ἡ κατζάνη: "mittelalterlich, entstanden aus καζαντεύω – καζαντίζω < türk. kazan(mak) = verdienen, gewinnen. Vgl. Miklosich, Türk. Elem., Nachtrag II, 61, ferner Hatzid., MNE I, 303. Das Verb καζαντίζω wendet man besonders auf Leute an, die in die Fremde ziehen, um sich dort zu bereichern, z.B. ξέρεις, γιατί τὸ ἔκαμε; διὰ νὰ καζαντίσῃ (Staurakis V. 14). Das Substantiv κατζάνη ist eine Bildung des Dichters, denn es liess sich nirgends belegen." Bei Kriaras (1968) in seinem Lexikon ist κατζάνη nicht aufgenommen.

Aufzunehmen wäre dort allerdings auch nicht κατζάνη, sondern allenfalls κατζάνης. Die Stelle im Pulologos sollte nämlich geschrieben werden: κανεῖς πτωχὸς πραγματευτῆς, ἄνθρωπός τις κατζάνης.

Κατζάνης kommt aus türk. kağan in der Bedeutung ἐκεῖνος ποὺ φεύγει, φυγὰς (s. Triandaphyllidis 1982). Morphologisch ist kağan eine Art 'Partizip' zu kaça(k) in der Bedeutung 'Deserteur'. Κατζάνης und κατζάνος stehen nebeneinander.³ Die Bedeutungen reichen von λαθρέμπορος, φυγὰς (Kukkidis 1959-60, 128) bis γυρολόγος, πραγματευτῆς (Pamprukis 1988, 209) und πλανόδιος μικρέμπορος ('Dimitrakou'-Lexikon s.v.), am ausführlichsten in der Μεγάλη 'Ελληνική 'Εγκυκλοπαιδεία s.v. κατσάνος: Εἰς πολλὰ μέρη τῆς Δυτικῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ εἰς τινὰ τῆς Θεσσαλίας διὰ τοῦ ὅρου κατσάνος νοεῖται ὁ πλανόδιος ἔμπορος, ὁ ἄλλαχού λεγόμενος γυρολόγος ἢ πραγματευτῆς ἢ κυρατζῆς ἢ μπαμπότης. Τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἤσκουν κυρίως οἱ Κατσάνοι ἢ Κατσανοχωρίται ἐκ τῶν Κατσανοχωρίων τῶν 'Ιωαννίνων, οἵτινες σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξειλήθησαν εἰς μονίμους ἐμπόρους ἐγκατασταθέντες εἰς διάφορα μέρη τῆς 'Ελλάδος.

Dass die κατσάνοι nicht aus den Κατσανοχώρια τῶν 'Ιωαννίνων kommen, sondern umgekehrt κατσανοχώρια Dörfer mit κατσάνοι sind, beweist nicht zuletzt unser Beleg im Pulologos. Auf die Erörterung der Theorie der Herleitung der Sarakatsanen (Papahagi 1974, s.v. Sár(ă)căcéan) will ich mich hier nicht einlassen.

Die Bedeutung von κατζάνης an unserer Stelle ist die von πραγματευτῆς, das — wie häufig in der mittelgriechischen Volksliteratur — als Synonym im gleichen Vers steht.

3 N. Katsanis, Professor für Sprachwissenschaft an der Universität Thessaloniki, den ich dazu anscrieb, antwortete mir brieflich: "Ο παπούς μου γραφόταν Κατσιάνης και ο πατέρας μου Κατσάνος και εγώ Κατσάνης."

Zu klären scheint mir aber auch die verderbte Textüberlieferung der Handschrift E. Hinter dem τις τζαγανίστης verbirgt sich kein anderer als ein metathetisierter κατζάνης: τζαγάνης, vergleichbar etwa κατζάτιν neben τζακάτιν aus der Eselsgeschichte (s.u.). E, dessen Metrik im Pulologos zu 25% zerstört ist, setzt doppeltes τις, wobei die Akzentverschiebung auf τζαγανῆς darauf zurückzuführen ist, dass bei folgendem τις die 14. Silbe auf -ής fällt. Mit τζαγκάρης oder dergleichen hat also τζαγάνης nichts zu tun, wohl aber das in Z zu 353 auftauchende τζαγκανᾶ. Weitere Nebenformen dazu sind in 331 überliefert: τζαγαρᾶ L, τζαγανᾶ EZ und τζακανᾶ A. In allen Fällen ist von καρτζανᾶ (331 V, in CP: κατζανᾶ; 353 CV, in L καρτζάνα, A κατζανᾶ, E τζανᾶ, P καρκαζανᾶ) mit einem Nominativ καρτζανᾶς (s. Kriaras 1968 s.v. καρτσανᾶς) auszugehen. Und dies ist ein 'Schuhmacher', genauso wie τζαγκάρης, nicht aber ein 'fliegender Händler', ein κατζάνης.

Im übrigen scheint schon J. Psichari (1889, 187) an einen Nominativ κατζάνης gedacht zu haben, wenn er zur Pulologosstelle schreibt: θαλάσσης (45), τραπέζης (505), κατζάνης (342; nominatif?);

*ροντζεύω

In 310ff der Eselsgeschichte (Pochert 1991) lesen wir in V:

Ὁ γάδαρος βολίσσει τον, τσιλιπουρδᾶ καὶ κροῦ του
μὲ ὄλην του τὴν δύναμιν ὅσον καὶ ἂν ἐδυνήθην
καὶ ἐκτύπησέ τον μὲ θυμὸν καὶ ἐχαρβάλωσέ τον
ἐμπροσθεν τὸν ἐρόντζεψεν στὴν μέσην τοῦ πελάγους

Die entsprechende Stelle im Venezianer Druck von 1539 hat:

Τότες ὁ γάδαρος εὐθύς τσιλιπουρδᾶ καὶ κροῦ τον,
καὶ ὅχι μόνον μιὰ φορά, μὰ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον,
καὶ ρίχνει τον στὸ πέλαγος, νὰ τότε πνίξη θέλει.

Die Bedeutung von ἐρόντζεψεν ist also durch ρίχνει abgesichert: er 'warf' ihn ins Meer. Hinter *ροντζεύω scheint spätgriechisches bzw. mittelgriechisches ροῖζω zu stecken: Andriotis (1974, Nr. 5247) führt ein ροῖζω auf mit den Formen ροῖζω, ρούζω und ρόζω ausschliesslich im Pontischen. Da er dafür als erste Bedeutung die von 'werfen' angibt, ist die Sache von der Semasiologie her klar.

Schwieriger ist die phonetische Entwicklung. Dazu darf ich S. Henrich, Hamburg, zitieren, der mir dankenswerterweise seine überzeugende Version brieflich übermittelte: "Die pontischen Formen ρόζω und ρούζω erklären sich m.E. durch Monophthongisierungen zu verschiedenen Zeiten: jünger wohl ρόζω (vgl. etwa ἐβόθησεν, auch in der Eselsgeschichte), vermutlich älteres ρούζω wohl < [rūzo] = *ροῖζω < ροῖζω, wozu γιτεύω < *γοιτεύω < [goitévo] = γοιτεύω. Zu [u] < [ü] besonders nach [r], siehe z.B. das weitverbreitete χρουσός, -άφι(ν) oder, schon bei Hesych, ρούγχος < ρύγχος. Da die offenbar schon mittelgriechische

Form ρόζω kein deutliches Verbalsuffix mehr besass, scheint mir Erweiterung durch ein solches (hier: -ευ-) immerhin möglich. Bei [rodzévo], wie wir in der Form der Eselsgeschichte wohl aussprechen können, dürfte [zz] > [dz] vorliegen, was aus Dodekanes-Mundarten bekannt ist.”

τζακάτι

Zu den Belegen von τζακάτι in der Eselsgeschichte (Hs V) 348 (s. jetzt Pochert 1991) und im heutigen thrakischen Dialekt hat sich P. Vassiliou (1986, 124-6) geäußert. Dem wäre nachzutragen:

1 Die Bedeutung ‘Stirn’ stützt die der Handschrift V genau entsprechende Stelle im Druck von 1539 ab:⁴

Für das in V überlieferte

εὐθὺς ὥσαν μ' ἐκτύπησεν μέσα εἰς τὸ τζακάτι

steht in D 348 B

καὶ μέσα εἰς τὸ κούτελο ἢ κοπανιά ἔσωσέ με.

2 Da τζακάτι nur in thrakischen Dialekten nachweisbar ist, kann eine Herkunft aus dem Türkischen nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Tatsächlich verzeichnet das Derleme Sözlüğü 3, S. 1042 (Ankara 1986) s.v. çakat: ‘dagbasi, tepe’, also ‘Bergspitze, Hügel’,⁵ schränkt dessen Verbreitung aber auf Istanbul ein. Nachfragen bei dem Turkologen M. Götz, Köln, ergaben aber, dass ‘çakat’ wohl kaum genuin türkisch sein könne. Da wir andererseits im Pontischen ausreichende Belege für ein Wort κατζάτιν (erweitertes κατζίν) mit der Bedeutung ‘Stirn’ haben, (Papadopoulos 1958) ist eine Metathese von κατζάτιν zu τζακάτιν, wie sie S. Psaltes (1917) gesehen hat,⁶ sehr wahrscheinlich.⁷

Κατζίν hat auch im Pontischen noch die Bedeutung ‘θυμιατήριον τῆς χειρός’ (s. Papadopoulos 1958). Diese Bedeutung bringt uns auf mgr. κατζίν, das bei Kriaras (1968) nicht, bei Du Cange aber sehr gut belegt ist: ‘capsula’. Aus dem Bereich der volkssprachlichen Literatur wäre die Stelle aus der Metaphrase des Stephanitis und Ichnilatis (Eideneier 1967, 430 ff.) 434, 3f: καὶ ἐπαρέδωκεν αὐτῷ ρ' κάτζια σίδερον ... zu nennen. Mit der Bedeutung ‘capsula’ sind wir damit ohnehin beim Lateinischen capsula — ‘Schachtel, Kasten, Kiste’ — angekommen (Meyer-Lübke 1968, Nr. 1658).

Zu beachten ist dabei der Betonungswechsel von κάτζιν zu κατζίν im Pontischen und dass ein Worttyp κατσίν oder κάτσιν für κατζίν bzw. κάτζιν nicht auftaucht. Dies wiederum lässt uns für mgr. τζακάτιν in der Eselsgeschichte eine Aussprache und eine Schreibweise τζακάτιν und nicht τσακάτιν postulieren.

4 Vassiliou weist nur auf den Druck hin, ohne die Stelle zu nennen.

5 Freundlicher Hinweis von Ch. Symeonidis, Thessaloniki.

6 Λεξ. Αρχ. 35-38 (bei Vassiliou falsch zitiert).

7 S. auch oben zu κατζάνης-τζαγάνης.

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EINE VOLKSSPRACHLICH-GRIECHISCHE VERBFORMENLISTE DER 2. HÄLFTE DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS IN ARABISCHER SCHRIFT

Günther S. Henrich

1 Einleitung

Vor kurzem hat der Slavist Werner Lehfeldt (Lehfeldt 1989) ein islamisches (arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches) Gesprächslehrbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts nach einer Istanbul Handschrift (Aya Sofya Müzesi 4750) herausgegeben. Das Besondere an diesem viersprachigen Werk ist, daß außer dem arabischen und persischen Text auch der serbische und sogar der griechische mit arabischem Alphabet geschrieben sind, wobei für die Schreibung bestimmter neugriechischer und serbokroatischer Laute eine Reihe von zusätzlichen Zeichen aus den Mitteln der arabischen Schrift gewonnen wurde (Lehfeldt 1989, 31-53 [Serbisch] und 53-70 [Griechisch]); wichtig, daß die beiden für dies Alphabet neuen Sprachen voll vokalisiert sind. Während nun der genannte Kodex AS 4750 nur den viersprachigen Text enthält, existiert am selben Ort noch die Schwesterhandschrift AS 4749, aus etwa der gleichen Zeit (Lehfeldt 1989, 1-2. 7; vgl. Henrich 1989, 367-70); diese umfaßt darüber hinaus einige kürzere zweisprachige (arabisch- bzw. persisch-griechische) Texte sowie eine Art griechischer Schreiblehre (Henrich 1989, 370). Im folgenden soll nur von der persisch-vulgärgriechischen Verballiste die Rede sein, welche sich auf den Folia 53^v bis 61^v dieser zweiten Handschrift findet, wobei das Griechische auch dort in arabischen Zeichen erscheint.

In vorliegender *Ausgabe* (Abschnitt 2) sind die griechischen Formen jedoch ins griechische Alphabet transkribiert. Ein kritischer Apparat schien wegen der minimalen Fehlerquote und hohen Eindeutigkeit entbehrlich. Kleinere Probleme, besonders hinsichtlich Akzentstelle und Orthographie, werden im *Kommentar* (Abschnitt 4) besprochen. Mit zwei Einschränkungen ist die traditionelle Schreibung zugrundegelegt: Gravis wurde durch Akut ersetzt, auf Iota subscriptum (in der 2. und 3. Person Sing. des aktiven Konjunktivs) verzichtet.

2 Die Liste der griechischen Verbformen

Die folgende Liste beschränkt sich auf das transkribierte griechische Formenmaterial, die in der Hs. darüberstehenden persischen Formen sind hier also ebenso fortgelassen wie deren arabische Überschriften (s. Abschnitt 3, *Systematik*) und die arabische konventionelle Eingangs- und Schlußformel (erste und letzte Zeile des Ganzen). Hapax legomena wurden durch Asterisk gekennzeichnet, auffällige Suppletivformen unterstrichen. Kommata und Punkte stammen vom Herausgeber.

53v				
4	*'Ηξεύρημα,	*γρ(ο)ίκισμα,	μάθημα,	ἀνάγνωσμα,
6	γράψιμον,	ῥισμα,	δείξιμον,	*ἔρθημα,
8	*ὑπάγαιμα,			*φλοκάλημα.
10	*'Ηξευρήματα,	*γρ(ο)ικίσματα,	μαθήματα,	ἀναγνώσματα,
12	γραψίματα,	ῥίσματα,	δείξιματα,	*ἔρθήματα,
14	*ὑπαγαίματα,			*φλοκαλήματα.
54r				
2	*'Ηξεύρησις,	γρ(ο)ίκησις,	μάθησις,	ἀνάγνωσις,
4	γραφή,	πρόσταξις,	δείξις,	ἔλυσσις,
6	<u>ἀπέλευσις,</u>			*σκοῦπισις.
8	*'Ανηξεύρημα,	*ἀνηγρ(ο)ίκισμα,	*ἀμάθημα,	οὐκ ἀνάγνωσμα,
10	οὐ γράψιμον,	*ἀνόρισμα,	οὐ δείξιμον,	οὐκ ἔρθημα,
12	οὐ πάγαιμα,			οὐ *φλοκάλεμα.
14	'Ανηξευρία,	ἀγρ(ο)ικία,	ἀμαθ(ε)ία,	οὐκ *ἀναγνωσία,
54v				
2	ἀγραφία,	*ἀορισία,	*ἀδειζία,	*ἀνελευσία,
4	<u>*ἀδιόδουσία</u>			*ἀφλοκαλησία.
6	'Ηξευρε,	ἐγρ(ο)ίκησεν,	ἔμαθεν,	ἀνέγνωσεν,
8	ῥισεν,	ἔδειξεν,	ἦρθεν,	ἔγραψεν,
10	ἐπήγειν,			ἐφλοκάλησεν.
12	'Ηξευραν,	ἐγρ(ο)ίκησαν,	ἔμαθαν,	ἀνέγνωσαν,
14	ἔγραψαν,	ῥισαν,	ἔδειξαν,	ἦρθαν,
55r				
2	ἐπήγασιν,			ἐφλοκάλησαν.
4	'Εξευρες,	ἐγρ(ο)ίκησες,	ἔμαθες,	ἀνέγνωσες,
6	ἔγραψες,	ῥισες,	ἔδειξες,	ἦρθες,
8	ἐπήγες,			ἐφλοκάλησες.
10	'Ηξεύρετε,	ἐγρ(ο)ικήσετε,	ἐμάθετε,	ἀνεγνώσετε,
12	ἔγράψετε,	ῥίσετε,	ἔδειξετε,	ἦρθετε,
14	ἐπήγετε,			ἐφλοκαλήσετε.
55v				
2	'Ηξευρα,	ἐγρ<(ο)ί>κησα,	ἔμαθα,	ἀνέγνωσα,
4	ἔγραψα,	ῥισα,	ἔδειξα,	ἦρθα,
6	ἐπήγα,			ἐφλοκάλησα.
8	Νά ἡξεύρη,	νά γρ(ο)ικᾶ,	νά μάθη,	νά ἀναγνώθη,
10	νά γράψη,	νά ῥίση,	νά δείξη,	νά ἔρθη,
12	νά ὑπάγη,			νά φλοκαλήση.
14	Νά ἡξεύρουν,	νά γρ(ο)ικοῦν,	νά μάθουν,	νά ἀναγνώθουν,

56r				
2	νά γράψουν,	νά ῥίσουν,	νά δείξουν,	νά ἔρθουν,
4	νά ὑπάγουν,			νά φλοκαλοῦν.
6	Νά ξεύρης,	νά γρ(ο)ικᾶς,	νά μάθης,	νά ἀναγνώθης,
8	νά γράψης,	νά ῥίσης,	νά δείξης,	νά ἔρθης,
10	νά ὑπάγης,			νά φλοκαλής.
12	Νά ἡξεύρετε,	νά γρ(ο)ικήσετε,	νά μάθετε,	νά ἀναγνώθετε,
14	νά γράψετε,	νά ῥίσετε,	νά δείξετε,	νά ἔρθετε,
56v				
2	νά ὑπάγετε,			νά φλοκαλήσετε.
4	'Ηξεύρεις,	γρ(ο)ικᾶς,	μαθάνεις,	ἀναγνώθεις,
6	γράφεις,	ῥίζεις,	δείχνεις,	ἔρχεσαι,
8	ὑπάγεις,			φλοκαλεῖς.
10	'Ηξεύρετε,	γρ(ο)ικᾶτε,	μανθάνετε,	ἀναγνώθετε,
12	γράφετε,	ῥίζετε,	δείχνετε,	ἔρχεστε,
14	ὑπάγετε,			φλοκαλεῖτε.
57r				
2	'Ηξεύρει,	γρ(ο)ικᾶ,	μανθάνει,	ἀναγνώθει,
4	γράφει,	ῥίζει,	δείχνει,	ἔρχεται,
6	ὑπάγει,			φλοκαλεῖ.
8	'Ηξεύρουν,	γρ(ο)ικοῦν,	μανθάνουν,	ἀναγνώθουν,
10	γράφουν,	ῥίζουν,	δείχνουν,	ἔρχονται,
12	ὑπάγουσιν,			φλοκαλοῦν.
14	'Ηξεύρω,	γρ(ο)ικῶ,	μανθάνω,	ἀναγνώθω,
57v				
2	γράφω,	ῥίζω,	δείχνω,	ἔρχομαι,
4	ὑπάγω,			φλοκαλῶ.
6	'Ηξεύρομεν,	γρ(ο)ικοῦμεν,	μαθάνομεν,	ἀναγνώθομεν,
8	γράφομεν,	ῥίζομεν,	δείχνομεν,	ἐρχοῦμεστε,
10	παγαίνομεν,			φλοκαλῶμεν.
12	'Ηξευρε,	γρ(ο)ίκησε,	μάθε,	ἀνάγνωσε,
14	γράφε,	ῥισε,	δείξε,	ἔλα,
58r				
2	πάγαυε,			φλοκάλησε.
4	'Εξεύρετε,	γρ(ο)ικήσετε,	μάθετε,	ἀναγνώσετε,
6	γράψετε,	ῥίσετε,	δείξετε,	ἔλατε,
8	παγαίνετε,			φλοκαλήσετε.
10	Μηδέν ἡξεύρης,	μηδέν γρ(ο)ικᾶς,	μηδέν μάθης,	μηδέν ἀναγνώθης,
12	μηδέν γράψης,	μηδέν ῥίξης,	μηδέν δείχνης,	μηδέν ἔρθης,
14	μηδέν παγαίνης,			μηδέν φλοκαλής.
58v				
2	Μηδέν ἐξεύρετε,	μηδέν γρ(ο)ικᾶτε,	μηδέν μάθετε,	μηδέν ἀναγνώθετε,
4	μηδέν γράφετε,	μηδέν ῥίζετε,	μηδέν δείχνετε,	μηδέν ἔρχεστε,
6	μηδέν παγαίνετε,			μηδέν φλοκαλήτε.
8	Δέν ἡξεύρει,	δέν γρ(ο)ικᾶ,	δέν μαθάνει,	δέν ἀναγνώθει,
10	δέν γράφει,	δέν ῥίζει,	δέν δείχνει,	δέν ἔρχεται,
12	δέν παγαίνει,			δέν φλοκαλεῖ.
14	Δέν ἡξεύρεις,	δέν γρ(ο)ικᾶς,	δέν μαθάνεις,	δέν ἀναγνώθεις,
59r				
2	δέν γράφεις,	δέν ῥίζεις,	δέν δείχνεις,	δέν ἔρχεσαι,
4	δέν παγαίνεις,			δέν φλοκαλεῖς.
6	Δέν ἡξεύρω,	δέν γρ(ο)ικῶ,	δέν μαθαίνω,	δέν ἀναγνώθω,
8	δέν γράφω,	δέν ῥίζω,	δέν δείχνω,	δέν ἔρχομαι,
10	δέν παγαίνω,			δέν φλοκαλῶ.
12	Δέν ἡξεύρουν,	δέν γρ(ο)ικοῦν,	δέν μαθαίνουν,	δέν ἀναγνώθουν,
14	δέν γράφουν,	δέν ῥίζουν,	δέν δείχνουν,	δέν ἔρχονται,

59v	2	δέν παγαίνου,			δέν φλοκαλοῦν.
	4	Δέν ἡξεύρετε,	δέν γρ(ο)ικᾶτε,	δέν μαθᾶναι,	δέν ἀναγνώθετε,
	6	δέν γράφετε,	δέν ὀρίζετε,	δέν δείχνετε,	δέν ἔρχεσθε,
	8	δέν παγαίνετε,			δέν φλοκαλεῖτε.
	10	Δέν ἡξευρε,	δέν ἐγρ(ο)ίκησεν,	δέν ἔμαθεν,	δέν ἐνέγνωσεν,
	12	δέν ἔγραψεν,	δέν ὤρισεν,	δέν ἔδειξεν,	δέν ἦρθεν,
	14	δέν ἐπήγεν,			δέν ἐφλοκάλησεν.
60r	2	Δέν ἡξευρες,	δέν ἐγρ(ο)ίκησες,	δέν ἔμαθες,	δέν ἐνέγνωσες,
	4	δέν ἔγραψες,	δέν ὤρισες,	δέν ἔδειξες,	δέν ἦρθες,
	6	δέν ἐπήγες,			δέν ἐφλοκάλησες.
	8	Δέν ἡξευρα,	δέν ἐγρ(ο)ικ<η>σα,	δέν ἔμαθα,	δέν ἐνέγνωσα,
	10	δέν ἔγραψα,	δέν ὤρισα,	δέν ἔδειξα,	δέν ἦρθα,
	12	δέν ἐπήγα,			δέν ἐφλοκάλησα.
	14	Δέν ἡξευραν,	δέν ἐγρ(ο)ίκησαν,	δέν ἔμαθαν,	δέν ἐνέγνωσαν,
60v	2	δέν ἔγραψαν,	δέν ὤρισαν,	δέν ἔδειξαν,	δέν ἦρθαν,
	4	δέν ἐπήγαν,			δέν ἐφλοκάλησαν.
	6	Δέν ἡξεύρετε,	δέν ἐγρ(ο)ικήσετε,	δέν ἐμάθετε,	δέν ἀνεγνώσετε,
	8	δέν ἐγράψετε,	δέν ὠρίσετε,	δέν ἐδείξετε,	δέν ἦρθετε,
	10	δέν ἐπήγετε,			δέν ἐφλοκαλήσετε.
	12	Δέν ἡξεύραμεν,	δέν ἐγρ(ο)ικήσαμεν,	δέν ἐμάθαμεν,	δέν ἀνεγνώσαμεν,
	14	δέν ἐγράψαμεν,	δέν ὠρίσαμεν,	δέν ἐδείξαμεν,	δέν ἦρθαμεν,
61r	2	δέν ἐπήγαμεν,			δέν ἐφλοκαλέσαμεν.
	4	*'Ἡξευρητής,	γρ(ο)ικητής,	μαθητής,	ἀναγνώστης,
	6	γρα<μ>ματικός,	ὀριστής,	δείχτης,	ἐρχόμενος,
	8	ἀπερχόμενος,			*φλοκαλετής.
	10	*'Ἡξευρητάδες,	γρ(ο)ικητάδες,	μαθητάδες,	ἀναγνώστες,
	12	γρα<μ>ματικοί,	ὀρισταί,	δείκνουντες,	ἐρχόμενοι,
	14	ἀπερχόμενοι,			*φλοκαληταί.
61v	2	*'Ἡξευρημένος,	γρ(ο)ικισμένος,	μαθημένος,	ἀναγνωσμένος,
	4	γρα<μ>μένον,	ὠρισμένον,	δειγμένον,	φλοκαλημένον.
ca.8		*'Ἡξευρημένα,	γρ(ο)ικισμένα,	μαθημένα,	ἀναγνωσμένα,
ca.10		γρα<μ>μένα,	ὠρισμένα,	δειγμένα,	φλοκαλημένα.

3 Zur Systematik der Formen

Übersichtstabelle zur Systematik der griechischen Formen:

1)	53v	4:	Verbalsubstantive auf -μα/σιμον, Nominativ Singular
2)		10:	Verbalsubstantive auf -μα/σιμον, Nominativ Plural
3)	54r	2:	Verbalsubstantive auf -σις, nur Nominativ Singular
4)		8:	negierte Verbalsubst. auf -μα/σιμον, nur Nominativ Singular
5)		14:	negierte Verbalsubst. vom Typ ἄ(ν)...ία, nur Nominativ Singular

6)	54v	6:	Präteritum (meist Ind. Aorist), 3. Person Singular
7)		12:	Präteritum (meist Ind. Aorist), 3. Person Plural
8)	55r	4:	Präteritum (meist Ind. Aorist), 2. Person Singular

9)		10:	Präteritum (meist Ind. Aorist), 2. Person Plural
10)	55v	2:	Präteritum (meist Ind. Aorist), 1. Person Singular

11)		8:	Konjunktiv (Aorist, Präsens), 3. Person Singular
12)		14:	Konjunktiv (Aorist, Präsens), 3. Person Plural
13)	56r	6:	Konjunktiv (Aorist, Präsens), 2. Person Singular
14)		12:	Konjunktiv (Aorist, Präsens), 2. Person Plural

15)	56v	4:	Indikativ Präsens, 2. Person Singular
16)		10:	Indikativ Präsens, 2. Person Plural
17)	57r	2:	Indikativ Präsens, 3. Person Singular
18)		8:	Indikativ Präsens, 3. Person Plural
19)		14:	Indikativ Präsens, 1. Person Singular
20)	57v	6:	Indikativ Präsens, 1. Person Plural

21)		12:	Imperativ (Aorist, Präsens), 2. Person Singular
22)	58r	4:	Imperativ (Aorist, Präsens), 2. Person Plural

23)		10:	Verbot (meist Konj. Präsens), 2. Person Singular
24)	58v	12:	Verbot (meist Konj. Präsens), 2. Person Plural

25)		8:	negierter Indikativ Präsens, 3. Person Singular
26)		14:	negierter Indikativ Präsens, 2. Person Singular
27)	59r	6:	negierter Indikativ Präsens, 1. Person Singular
28)		12:	negierter Indikativ Präsens, 3. Person Plural
29)	59v	4:	negierter Indikativ Präsens, 2. Person Plural

30)		10:	negiertes Präteritum (meist Aor.), 3. Person Singular
31)	60r	2:	negiertes Präteritum (meist Aor.), 2. Person Singular
32)		8:	negiertes Präteritum (meist Aor.), 1. Person Singular
33)		14:	negiertes Präteritum (meist Aor.), 3. Person Plural
34)	60v	6:	negiertes Präteritum (meist Aor.), 2. Person Plural
35)		12:	negiertes Präteritum (meist Aor.), 1. Person Plural

36)	61r	4:	Nomina agentis / med. Part. Präsens, Nom. Sing. mask.
37)		10:	Nomina agentis / med. Part. Präsens, Nom. Plur. mask.
38)	61v	2:	Part. Perfekt Passiv, Nom. Sing., teils mask., teils neutral
39)	ca.	8:	Part. Perfekt Passiv, Nom. Plur., nur neutral

(Genus verbi: Bei den finiten Formen handelt es sich — außer im Präsensstamm von ἔρχομαι — überall um A k t i v a.)

Bemerkungen zur vorstehenden Tabelle:

Jede Seite der Verbformenliste umfaßt in der Hs. 14 Zeilen (die letzte Seite, f. 61v, nur zehn), von denen die ungeraden Zeilen die persischen Formen, die gera-

den in Interlinearübersetzung die griechischen Formen enthalten. Von folgenden 10 Verbalbegriffen wird auf drei Doppelzeilen jeweils parallel die gleiche grammatische Form gegeben: *wissen, verstehen, lernen, lesen* (jeweils obere pers.-griech. Doppelzeile), *schreiben, befehlen, zeigen, kommen* (jeweils mittlere Doppelzeile), *(weg)gehen, fegen* (jeweils untere Doppelzeile).¹ Die persischen Formen, größer und dunkler geschrieben als die griechischen, sind durch dicke Punkte voneinander getrennt, die griechischen weisen keine Interpunktion auf. In der Mitte der jeweils unteren Doppelzeile, also zwischen den Begriffen für *(weg)gehen* (in der linksläufigen ar. Schrift rechts) und *fegen* (links), erscheint, sogar deutlich größer als der persische 'Text', die arabische Überschrift für jede folgende grammatische Kategorie bzw. Formenreihe, z.B. in der Mitte von Zeile 7-8 auf f. 53^v der mit 'Plurale der Infinitive' zu übersetzende Titel. (Die arabische grammat. Terminologie wird auch für die Sprachen anderer islamischer Völker verwendet; ihre Rolle entspricht also im Orient derjenigen, welche die lateinische grammat. Nomenklatur traditionell für die Volkssprachen des katholisch-protestantischen Europa spielt.)

Als ein Charakteristikum der volkssprachlichen Tendenz des gräköphonen Übersetzers darf angesehen werden, daß er als Entsprechungen der persischen — freilich größtenteils substantivisch verwendeten — Infinitive (53^v3-13) nicht etwa die gelehrten griechischen Infinitivformen wählt, sondern die Verbalsubstantive auf -μα bzw. -σµον (Kategorie Nr. 1). Eine solche Entscheidung lag allerdings schon deshalb nahe, weil der persische Infinitiv auch über einen Plural verfügt, dessen Formen dem Übersetzer hier ebenfalls vorgegeben waren (53^v9-13); diese wären auf jeden Fall mit griechischen Verbalsubstantiven zu übersetzen gewesen (hier Kategorie Nr. 2).

Überraschend für den Gräzisten ist Kategorie Nr. 4 (54^r8-12), *negierte* Verbalsubstantive auf -μα/σµον (nur Singular). Das Erscheinen einer solchen Gruppe läßt sich nur aus der Vorlage erklären: Im Persischen können alle Verbalformen, einschließlich der verbalen Substantive, durch ein stark betontes *na-* verneint werden, auf das die eigentliche Form enklitisch folgt; es ist üblich, Negation und flektierte Form zusammenzuschreiben.² Nur beim negierten Imperativ (im Neugriechischen dem negierten Konjunktiv entsprechend, hier die Nummern 23-24) steht betontes *ma-* für sonstiges *na-*.

Der größte Teil der Liste (54^v5 - 61^r2) umfaßt — wie nicht anders zu erwarten — *finite* Formen, je 300 persische und griechische. Auch in diesem Hauptteil (Formenreihen 6-35) folgt die Anordnung im wesentlichen der in Grammatiken orientalischer Sprachen üblichen Einteilung und Reihenfolge. So wird — nach arabischem Vorbild³ — mit den Präteritalformen begonnen, wobei man grundsätzlich von unserer 3. Person über die 2. zur 1. Person fortschreitet und der

Plural jeder Person direkt auf deren Singular folgt. An der vorliegenden Liste fällt auf, daß die 'letzte' Person, d.i. unsere 1. Pluralis, in drei Kategorien fehlt (bei Präteritum nach Nr. 10, Konjunktiv nach Nr. 14 und negiertem Ind. Präsens nach Nr. 29); im Konjunktiv fehlt sogar noch die 1. Person Singular.

Da vom persischen Tempus- und Modussystem ausgegangen wird, darf nicht verwundern, daß bei den griechischen Formen solche von Aorist- und Präsensstamm in allen relevanten Kategorien (Nrn. 6-10: Präteritum, 11-14: Konjunktiv, 21-22: Imperativ, 23-24: Verbot, 30-35: negiertes Präteritum) nebeneinander auftreten. Ein Auswahlprinzip des Übersetzers ist mir dabei im allgemeinen nicht erkennbar. Die generelle Tendenz des heutigen Neugriechischen, im Zweifelsfall den Aoriststamm zu bevorzugen, wird aber schon deutlich; ähnliches gilt von der einzigen entgegengesetzten Kategorie, der des Verbots (d.h. des negierten Konjunktivs der 2. Person, Nrn. 23-24), wo umgekehrt mehr Präsens- als Aoristformen anzutreffen sind: auch dies stimmt zum modernen Befund.

Beim Indikativ Präsens (56^v3 - 57^v10) sind die 3. und 2. Person, also die Nrn. 15-16 und 17-18, gegenüber dem sonstigen Usus umgestellt. Vermutlich hatte der Verfasser (oder Schreiber) der persischen Liste zunächst die 3. Person vergessen — vielleicht, weil er den direkt voraufgehenden Konjunktiv mit der 2. Person hatte schließen lassen —, sein Versehen dann aber bemerkt und die 3. Person zwischen 2. und 1. Person nachgetragen. Der Gräköphone war wegen des Wortfür-Wort-Charakters seiner Interlinearübersetzung gezwungen, die Umstellung mitzumachen. Was Imperativ (Nrn. 21-22) und Verbot (23-24) betrifft, beschränken die Formen sich auf die 2. Person, weil im Persischen nur diese für beide Kategorien über eigene Formen verfügt.

Innerhalb der letzten beiden finiten Kategorien (Formenreihen 25-35), der des negierten Indikativs Präsens (58^v7-59^v8) und des negierten Präteritums (59^v9-61^r2), deren Auftreten wieder im grammatischen System des Persischen begründet liegt (s. oben die Bemerkung zu Nr. 4), ändern Persischsprachiger wie Gräköphoner — dieser gezwungenermaßen — die übliche Reihenfolge, indem sie jetzt zunächst den ganzen Singular in allen 3 Personen und erst danach den gesamten Plural (beim negierten Indikativ Präsens ohne dessen 1. Person) angeben.

Gegen Ende (61^r3-Schluß) kehren unsere Grammatiker zu den *Verbalnomina* zurück (Nrn. 36-39). Im Persischen gibt es — wie auch im Neugriechischen oder Niederländischen und Deutschen — zwei hauptsächliche Partizipien, das des Präsens Aktiv und das des Präteritums Passiv; seltener ist ein Part. Futur Passiv (s. z.B. Alavi-Lorenz 1967, 162-3). Der Persischsprachige hat hier Präsens- und Präteritumspartizip systematisch abgehandelt — Futurum ist ja auch sonst in der Liste nicht berücksichtigt —, während der Übersetzer sich gezwungen sah, im Präsens bei allen acht 'Nichtdeponentien' auf die entsprechenden griechischen *Nomina agentis* vom Typus auf -της (mit nur einer Ausnahme) auszuweichen, da ihm offensichtlich bewußt war, daß das neugriechische indeklinable Partizip Präsens Aktiv des Typs γράφοντα(ς) nicht mehr adjektivisch oder substantiviert verwendbar ist, sondern nur noch adverbial-'gerundial'. Bei den Nrn. 38-39, den Partizipien Präter. Passiv (ab 61^v1), fällt auf, daß in beiden Sprachen die Entsprechungen von *gekommen* und *(weg)gegangen* fehlen, obwohl deren Formen im Persischen keine Schwierigkeiten bereiten.

1 In der persischen Ausgangsliste handelt es sich um folgende Verben (Transkription nach Alavi-Lorenz 1967): dānestan, šenāxtan, āmuxtān, x(ow)āndan, nawēštan, farmudan, namudan, āmadān, raftān, roftān.

2 Vgl. etwa Alavi-Lorenz 1967, 60. Meinem Hamburger Kollegen Dr. Gerd Gropp habe ich für wiederholte iranistische Hilfen herzlich zu danken.

3 Zur Anordnung der arabischen Verbformen s. etwa Harder-Schimmel 1983, 72-100 (Lekt. 11-14).

Natürlich bleiben bei einer doch etwas rudimentären Liste wie dieser manche Wünsche des Neogräzisten offen. So sähe man vor allem gern mehr nichtaktive Formen — solche fehlen vom Aoriststamm gänzlich; glücklicherweise gehört das Semideponens ἔρχομαι zu den in die Liste aufgenommenen Verben, so daß wenigstens die nichtaktiven Indikativ-Präsens-Formen der Barytona angeführt sind. Auch die analytisch gebildeten Zeiten des Neugriechischen fehlen völlig (Futura, Perfekt und Plusquamperfekt; dazu auf der modalen Ebene vor allem die Konditionale). Doch dürfen wir dies nicht dem Gräköphonen ankreiden, denn offenbar lautete sein Auftrag, eine vorgegebene persische Liste, die nur die wichtigsten synthetischen Verbformen dieser Sprache umfaßte, ins Umgangsgriechische seiner Zeit zu übersetzen.

Dieses Auftrags hat er sich im ganzen nicht ohne Geschick entledigt; es sollte dabei nicht vergessen werden, daß es — soweit heute bekannt — für die Grammatik der Volkssprache damals noch keinen schriftlich fixierten Abriß gab, den der Übersetzer hätte benutzen können (vgl. die *Schlußbemerkungen* [Abschnitt 5, Ende]). Auf dem relativ schwierigeren Gebiet der *Verbalnomina* zeigt er sogar gewisse sprachschöpferische Ansätze, wenn unter insgesamt 86 Nominalformen nicht weniger als 29 (das ist ein Drittel) Hapax legomena erscheinen, von denen gewiß ein nicht geringer Teil eigene Neologismen sind. Allerdings werden einige gewagte Versuche dieser Art, besonders im Bereich der negierten Substantive von Kategorie 4 (54^r8-12), nicht die Billigung des heutigen Betrachters finden.

4 Kommentar

53^v4 ff.: Bei den Verbalsubstantiven auf -μα ist die große Zahl der Hapax legomena (5 von 8 Fällen) bemerkenswert: ἡξεύρημα,⁴ γρ(ο)ίκισμα⁵ (interessant hier das Suffix -ισμα, wozu γρ(ο)ικισμένος, -α 61^v2 und 8 paßt,⁶ während ab 55^v8 bei den Präsensformen nur γρ(ο)ικῶ usw., nicht -ίζω erscheint; dementsprechend schreibe ich die Aoristformen, ab 54^v6, und γρ(ο)ίκησις, 54^r2, immer mit Eta), ἔρθημα (vgl. immerhin ἔλθημον, schon in der *Chronik von Morea*, H

4 Erweiterung mit -η- vor dem -μα scheint auch bei den Barytona im Mittellgriech. nicht selten gewesen zu sein, vgl. etwa die Hesych-Glosse κοῖα· κλέψημα (Latte II 497). Man wird mit Analogien nach θέλ-η-μα u. ä. zu rechnen haben. M. E. geht übrigens die ganze neuere Kategorie der Verbalsubst. auf -σιμο(ν) direkt auf solche älteren des Typs κλέψημα(ν) zurück: Unbetontes [ma] entwickelte sich in östlichen Mundarten, aber auch in der Sprache K/pels oft zu [mo]; Genitiv (κλεψίματος) und Plural (κλεψίματα, κλεψιμάτων) der neueren -σιμο(ν)-Kategorie bewahren außerdem ganz offensichtlich das alte -μα-. (Vgl. auch die mittellalterliche Doppelform ἔλθημα/ἔλθημον, im Komm. zu 53^v4 ff. erwähnt.) Dies jedoch näher auszuführen ist hier nicht der Ort.

5 Das Omikron setze ich bei diesem Verbalstamm immer in runde Klammern, weil dessen Etymologie m. E. nicht sicher geklärt ist und beide Schreibungen üblich sind. Zur etym. Problematik s. Pernot III 386 (mit weiterer Lit.), der sich unausgesprochen gegen Hatzidakis, EETI 9 (1912/13) 50 wendet.

6 Daß einem Partizip auf -ισμένος nicht immer am gleichen Ort und zur gleichen Zeit ein Präsens auf -ίζω zu entsprechen braucht, lehrt ein Blick in eine beliebige neugriech. Schulgrammatik: Mindestens die folgenden Kontrakta haben in heutiger Standardsprache ein -ισμένος neben sich: ἀγανακτῶ, ἀγρυπνῶ, ἀκουμπῶ, δυστυχῶ, εὐτυχῶ, ξεψυχῶ.

6562 Schmitt, und besonders ἐλθημα,⁷ an der gleichen Stelle in T), ὑπάγαμα (aber οὐ πάγαμα, ohne den Anlautvokal, 54^r12 — das Alpha der Stammsilbe u.a. chiotisch;⁸ auch im folgenden schwankt der Anlaut bei diesem Verbalstamm) sowie φλοκάλημα (wegen dieses Wortstamms s. den Kommentar zu 57^v4) mit ihren Pluralen. End-Ny (an der vorliegenden Stelle bei γράψιμον, δείξιμον — hier mußte wegen der nur konkreten Bedeutungen von γράμμα 'Buchstabe, Brief' und δειγμα 'Muster' auf die -σιμον-Bildungen ausgewichen werden —, aber auch später bei den finiten Formen regelmäßig vorkommend) gehörte noch mindestens bis ins 18. Jahrhundert der höheren Umgangssprache an.

54^r2-6: Auch die Beibehaltung des End-Sigma bei den Verbalsubstantiven auf -σις wird man für die frühe Neuzeit noch der gehobenen Umgangssprache zurechnen haben; man findet sie z.B. — um mich auf die grammatische Gebrauchsliteratur zu beschränken — bei Sophianos (1874, 43): "ἡ φύσις, τῆς φύσεως, τὴν φύσιν, ὡς φύσι. Πλ. οἱ φύσεις, τῶν φύσεων, ταῖς φύσεις, ὡς φύσεις",⁹ aber auch noch bei Germano 1907 (hier fehlt die Kategorie im Grammatikteil, ist aber im Vokabular regelmäßig mit -ς vertreten, z.B. Germano 1907 *Voc.*, 107 "Abbagliamento, ἐντάλωσις, ἡ" oder S. 309 "Vsanza. τάξις, ... ἡ."). Ἠξεύρησις und σκούπις sind Hapax legomena, doch ist zumindest im zweiten Fall damit zu rechnen, daß das Wort verbreiteter war, da nicht einzusehen wäre, warum der Übersetzer bei eigener Neubildung nicht auch hier von dem sonst immer für den Begriff *fegen* verwendeten Stamm φλοκαλ- hätte Gebrauch machen sollen. Mit γραφή scherte er aus der -σις-Reihe aus, weil kein *γράψις zur Verfügung steht; ὄρισις ist so selten, daß es ihm, wenn er es denn kannte, wohl nicht berücksichtigungswert erschien und er lieber zu πρόσταξις griff. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit den gelehrten Vokabeln ἔλευσις und ἀπέλευσις; der Stamm ἐρχ- hat ja kein Substantiv auf -σις gebildet, und das Hapax ὑπαξις war ein medizinischer Terminus (Aetios 5, 135). Zu den Suppletivformen πρόσταξις, ἀπέλευσις und σκούπις vgl. (ἀπ)ερχόμενος, -οι 61^r6.8.12.14.

54^r8-12: Ganz besonders interessant ist diese Kategorie 'negierter Verbalsubstantive auf -μα' gerade deshalb, weil eine solche im Griechischen eigentlich gar nicht existieren sollte. So sind die Hapax legomena ἀνηξεύρημα, ἀνηγρ(ο)ίκισμα, ἀμάθημα und ἀνόρισμα wahrscheinlich Ad-hoc-Bildungen des gräköphonen Übersetzers, wobei das erste eine Stütze in dem auch sonst belegten ἀνηξευρία (hier 54^r14) hatte und ἀνηγρ(ο)ίκισμα wohl analog zu ἀνηξεύρημα geschaffen wurde; privatives ἀνη- ist in manchen neugriechischen Mundarten verbreitet, darunter auch in den chiotischen (Pernot III 353: ἀνήγνωστος, ἀνήφητος für ἄγνωστος, ἄφητος). In den übrigen 6 Fällen griff der Übersetzer zu der Not-

7 Diese Form nicht erfaßt bei Kriaras (Lex.) s.v. ἐλθημον. Prof. Kriaras und seinem Mitarbeiter Dr. Anast. Karanastasēs danke ich herzlich dafür, daß ich Ende Juli / Anfang August 1989 das lexikographische Archiv im Κέντρο Βυζ. Ερευνών zu Saloniki ausführlichst benutzen durfte.

8 Germano 1907 *Voc.*, 118 s.v. *Andare*. Germanos Werk ist stark chiotisch geprägt.

9 Die Übersetzung des Pseudo-Plutarch wurde zuerst 1544 gedruckt (Sophianos 1874, 123), die vor Legrand noch nicht publizierte Grammatik dürfte aus denselben Jahren stammen, da sie dem 1550 verstorbenen Kardinal Jo(h)annes von Lothringen gewidmet ist (Legrand 7.33).

lösung, durch wörtliche Übertragung des pers. *na-* 'nicht' seinen Bildungen auf -μα/σιμον von 53^v4-8 gelehrtes ού(κ) voranzusetzen, welches bei ihm außer in dieser Kategorie nur noch einmal (54^r14 οὐκ ἀναγνώσῃα) vorkommt. Solch eine analytische Konstruktion steht freilich im Widerspruch zum griechischen syntaktischen Empfinden, das für die Negation ein μή vielleicht noch akzeptieren könnte. Es sei erwähnt, daß das 'uq bzw. 'uk mit dem folgenden Substantiv zusammengeschrieben ist, während *den* und *miden* vor den finiten Formen wie in griechischer Schrift getrennt bleiben. Das Hapax φλοκάλεμα macht wegen der Entwicklung von [li] zu [le] den Eindruck einer mundartlichen Form (vgl. 61^r2 δέν ἐφλοκαλέσαμεν, 8 φλοκαλετής), scheint aber bisher nicht gebucht.

54^r14-^v4: Weniger gewagt ist diese Kategorie, die der negierten Verbal substantive nach der Formel "ἀ(ν)- + Verbalstamm + -(σ)ία", weil sie den griechischen Wortbildungsregeln entspricht. Übrigens kommen hierbei noch keine Synizesen auf -ία vor. Bei οὐκ ἀναγνώσῃα (letzteres ein Hapax) sah sich der Übersetzer noch einmal gezwungen, auf das mißliche ού(κ) auszuweichen, offensichtlich weil *ἀν-ἀναγνώσῃα sein euphonisches Gefühl verletzt hätte. Aber auch von den anderen 9 Fällen sind 5 Hapax legomena: ἀορίσῃα (klassizistisch ohne -ν- gebildet, im Gegensatz zu ἀνόρισμα, 54^r10), ἀδειξῃα, ἀνελευσίῃα, ἀδι(j)οδευσίῃα, ἀφλοκαλησίῃα. Die beiden letzten Fälle haben eine Stütze in den existierenden Verbaladjektiven ἀδιόδευτος und ἀφλοκάλητος. Besonders die Suppletivbildung ἀδιόδευσίῃα verrät den Gelehrten. In 54^r14 habe ich mich entschlossen, ἀμαθ(ε)ῃα zu schreiben, weil 'amaṭṭ'a im Kodex steht, mit dem gleichen langen arabischen ṭ (Jā + Kasra), das auch sonst in der Regel für betontes griechisches [i] verwendet ist (Lehfeldt 1989, 67-8; zur Häufigkeit von ἀμαθείῃα in dieser Zeit vergleiche man die bei Kriaras, *Lex.* s.v. gesammelten Stellen.)

54^v6: Bemerkenswert der Gegensatz zwischen der ersten Präteritalform ἤξευπε (ohne -ν-, Imperfekt) und den folgenden neun (mit Ny ephelkystikon, Aoriste). Das einfache persische Präteritum gibt der Übersetzer grundsätzlich — und korrekt — mit dem Indikativ Aorist wider, muß aber bei (ἡ)ξευρ-, das ja nur noch einen Verbalstamm bildet, aufs Imperfekt ausweichen. Das bewegliche End-Ny 'fehlt' übrigens auch bei δέν ἤξευπε (59^v10).

54^v8: In dieser Zeile ist die Reihenfolge der vier Formen sowohl im Persischen wie im Griechischen eine andere als sonst immer: Die Entsprechungen von *er/sie/es schrieb*, die am (rechten) Zeilenanfang zu erwarten wären, stehen hier in der Handschrift einmal am (linken) Zeilenende. Vermutlich ist die persische Form in Zeile 7 vergessen, dann aber am Zeilenende, wo ja noch Platz für ein Wort gewesen sein muß, nachgetragen worden; der Gräköphone konnte nicht umhin, wegen der streng eingehaltenen Wort-für-Wort-Entsprechung die Reihenfolge der persischen Zeile zu übernehmen.

54^v10: Wie hier bei ἐπήγευ wird auch im folgenden jede Indikativ-Aorist-Form dieses Verbs ohne ὕ-, dafür aber mit dem ἐ- des unbetonten syllabischen Aug-

ments gebildet (55^r2-^v6; 59^v14-61^r2), das übrigens auch sonst bei konsonantisch beginnendem Verbalstamm in den Präteritalformen noch nirgends fehlt.

55^r2: Während alle anderen Präterita der (immer aktiven) 3. Person Plural in unserer Liste auf das gemeinneugriech. -αν ausgehen, haben wir es bei ἐπήγασιν mit einer idiomatischen Form zu tun; diese ist (ohne Ny ephelkystikon) auch chiotisch (Germano 1907 *Gramm.*, 89; modern so noch im Norden der Insel, in Mármaro, Pityós, Kéramos, s. Pernot II 271).

55^r4: "Ἐξευρες zeigt zusammen mit dem Imperativ ἐξεύρετε (58^r4), dem 'Konjunktiv' μηδέν ἐξεύρετε (58^v2) und dem Nomen agentis ἐξευρητάδες (61^r10) den ursprünglichen Anlautvokal. Am häufigsten ist bei diesem Stamm in unserer Liste ἡ-, doch auch Formen mit seinem modernsten Anlaut, also ohne Vokal am Beginn, fehlen nicht ganz, s. den Komm. zu νά ξεύρης (56^r6). Formen mit ξερ-, also ohne [v], kommen aber noch nicht vor.

55^r10-14: Ein deutliches Schibboleth für den Mundarthintergrund des Übersetzers sind die charakteristisch chiotischen Präteritalformen der akt. 2. Person Plural auf -ετε statt -ατε (Germano 1907 *Gramm.*, 89; Pernot II 271). Er verwendet ausschließlich die chiotische Endung (s. auch 60^v6-10).

55^v2: Bei ἐγρ(ο)ίκησα fehlt in der Handschrift das erste arabische Kasra (i), es steht aber auch kein Sukūn (Zeichen für Vokallösigkeit). Es handelt sich um eine Art Haplographie, ähnlich wie bei demselben Verb in 60^r8.

55^v8-56^v2: Der Übersetzer gebraucht beim Konjunktiv (wie auch bei Imperativ und Verbot = negiertem Konjunktiv, s. Komm. zu 57^v12-58^v6) zum Teil Präsensformen (νά ἤξεύρη — hier existiert kein Aorist mehr —, νά γρ(ο)ικῶ, νά ἀναγνώθῃ, evtl. auch νά ὑπάγῃ: vgl. den Indikativ Präsens ὑπάγω, 57^v4), zum Teil — insgesamt häufiger — Aoristformen (νά μάθῃ, νά γράψῃ, νά ὀρίσῃ, νά δείξῃ, νά ἔρθῃ, νά φλοκαλήσῃ). Ähnlich ist die Verteilung auch im Plural der dritten sowie bei der zweiten Person (die erste fehlt hier ja); Abweichungen sind die Präsensformen νά γράφῃς/γράφετε (56^r8/14) und νά φλοκαλοῦν/φλοκαλήs (56^r4/10). Insgesamt stehen beim 'positiven' Konjunktiv ohne Berücksichtigung der vier mit νά ὑπάγ- beginnenden Formen 21 Aoriste 15 Präsensformen gegenüber.

56^r6: Νά ξεύρης ist der einzige Fall in der Liste, bei dem dies Verb weder mit ἡ- noch mit ἐ- (s. Komm. zu 55^r4) beginnt. Es ist wohl kaum Zufall, daß diese 'Brückenform' zum modernen ξέρω nach der Konjunktivpartikel erscheint: [a] kann im neueren Griechischen bekanntlich jeden anderen Vokal verdrängen.

56^v4: Bei μαθάνεις (und 57^v6 μαθάνομεν, 58^v8 δέν μαθάνει, 58^v14 δέν μαθάνεις, 59^v4 δέν μαθάνετε) handelt es sich um den volkssprachlichen Übergangstypus (s. Kriaras, *Lex.* s.v. *μανθάνω*) zwischen dem traditionellen Präsensstamm *μανθαν-*, der sonst in der Liste benutzt wird, und dem jüngeren *μαθαιν-*. Die chiotischen Formen lauten übrigens μα(θ)θαίν-νω, ἡμαθα usw. (Pernot II 343);

ich vermute, daß der Übersetzer diese lautlich sehr auffälligen Formen (Geminaten, betontes Augment [i]-) als zu idiomatisch bewußt vermieden hat (vgl. den Komm. zu 61^r4-8).

56^v12: Bei ἔρχεστε wurde die standardsprachliche Betonung eingesetzt, da die Erhaltung des Chi auf die gemeinneugriechische Form deutet. Im N der Insel (Dörfer Mármaro und Pityós, z.T. auch in Kardámyla) ist allerdings ἐρκέστε üblich.¹⁰

57^r10: Die weitverbreitete (Mēnas 1987, 29, ap. 80-1) nichtaktive Primärendung der 3. Person Plural -ουνται (hier und 59^r14 in ἔρχονται) ist u.a. auch 'stadtchiotisch' (Pernot II 293).

57^r12: Sonstigem -ουν steht bei unserem Anonymus doch auch einmal -ουσιν (ὑπάγουσιν, aber 59^v2 δέν παγαίνουσιν) gegenüber. Dies ist m. E. nicht so sehr als gelehrt anzusehen, sondern eher als idiomatisch (vgl. -ασιν bei 55^r2 ἐπήγασιν), da -ουσι noch modern im N von Chios üblich ist (bes. in Mármaro und Pityós: Pernot II 270; auch Germano (1907 *Gramm.*, 89) verzeichnet -ουσι als Variante von -ουνε. Darauf, daß der Übersetzer Ny ephelkystikon beibehält, wurde im Komm. zu 55^r2 hingewiesen.

57^r14: Die Form ἡξεύρω sowie die Vokabel γρ(ο)ικῶ (in der Liste dafür nie καταλαβαίνω o. ä.) sind u. a. auch chiotisch (ἡξεύρω: Germano 1907 *Voc.*, s.v. Sapere; Pernot III 408. Γρ(ο)ικῶ: Germano 1907 *Voc.*, s.v. Intendere [γρυκῶ]; Pernot III 386). Zur weiten Verbreitung des Präsens ἀναγνώθω (hier stattdessen nie διαβάζω!) s. Kriaras, *Lex.*, und 'Ιστορικόν Λεξικόν τῆς Ἀκαδημίας s.v. Die chiotische Form des Präsens wäre übrigens ἀνεγνών-νω usw. (Pernot III 350, s.v. ἀναγνώνω). Es ist wieder zu vermuten, daß diese wegen ihrer Geminata dem Anonymus als übermäßig idiomatisch erschienen sein wird, vgl. den Komm. zu 56^v4.

57^v2: Auch ὀρίζω ist u. a. gut chiotisch (Germano 1907 *Voc.*, s.v. Comandare). Mit der genannten Ausnahme πρόσταξις (54^r4) beschränkt sich der Übersetzer für *befehlen* auf diese Vokabel.

57^v4: Die Formen ὑπάγω und φλοκαλῶ (in der Liste noch nicht mit dissimiliertem φρ-, das in den heutigen Mundarten die Regel ist) sind typisch auch fürs ältere Chiotische (Germano 1907 *Voc.*, s.vv. *Andare* und *Scopare*). Die Bedeutung von φλοκαλέω als 'fegen, putzen' existierte übrigens schon mindestens seit dem 1. Jh. v. Chr., vgl. Sophocles 1887 s.v. Bemerkenswert, daß der Chiote nur einmal, mit σκούπισις (54^r6), auf den Stamm des neueren Lehnworts σκουπίζω ausweicht.

10 Mēnas 1987, 28, ap. 56. Vgl. auch Pernot II 293.296-7. Mēnas' sehr nützlicher Aufsatz behandelt übrigens nur die Endungen der *Barytona*.

57^v6-10: Die Endung -ομε(ν) ist noch modern chiotisch (Pernot II 270.273); sie findet sich natürlich auch schon bei Germano 1907 *Gramm.*, 89 u. ö.

57^v8: Die nichtaktive Primärendung der 1. Person Plural der Barytona, -ούμεστε, ist, weil charakteristisch stadtchiotisch (Pernot II 293), ein weiteres Schibboleth für den idiomatischen Hintergrund des Anonymus (s. oben den Komm. zu 55^r10-14). Mēnas (1987, 26, ap. 35) gibt -ούμεστε außerdem nur noch für Ikaria und Kalymnos. Die Form ἐρχοῦμεστε stellt allerdings einen Kompromiß mit der Standardlautung des Stammes dar, weil in den chiotischen Idiomen [rx] zu [rk] wird (s. Pernot I 377, 4; II 296-7).

57^v10: Der sehr verbreitete Präsensstamm παγαίν- ist auch chiotisch (Germano 1907 *Voc.*, s.v. *Andare*; Pernot II 337). Bei dem seltsamen 2. (betonten) o von *floqalomen* könnte es sich um eine Verschreibung handeln (*aberratio oculi* zum ersten o? Griechisches o unterscheidet sich von ū nur durch ein diesem links hinzugefügtes Alif, d. h. einen senkrechten Strich). Weniger wahrscheinlich ist mir ein archaischer Mißgriff (Hyperurbanismus), doch möchte ich die überlieferte Form vor allem deshalb nicht ändern, weil meines Erachtens auch nicht völlig auszuschließen ist, daß es sich um eine ältere nordchiotische Nebenform handeln könnte: Pernot (II 267) gibt immerhin für Mármaro und Pityós das strukturell bis zu einem gewissen Grade vergleichbare θόμε(n) < θέλομεν gegenüber südchiotischem θύμε(n).

57^v12-58^r8: Ähnlich wie beim Konjunktiv (s. den Komm. zu 55^v8-56^v2) schwanken auch beim Imperativ die Formen zwischen Aorist- und Präsensstamm. Hier stehen 15 Aoristen lediglich 5 Präsentionen gegenüber (ἐλα/ἐλάτε wird man den ersteren zurechnen; auffällig γράφε : γράφετε). Einen schwer, evtl. durch Mundartmischung erklärbaren Kontrast bildet der vokalische Anlaut zwischen ἡξευρε (betont) und ἐξεύρετε (unbetont; letzteres auch als Konjunktiv gebraucht: 58^v2 μηδέν ἐξεύρετε), den hinsichtlich der Betonung umgekehrten Imperfekten ἔξευρες und ἡξεύρετε (55^r4/10) sowie zwischen ἡξευρητής und ἐξευρητάδες (61^r4/10). Der Übersetzer läßt noch keinerlei Synkopen bei den Aorist-Imperativen zu, er hat immer ὄρισε/ὀρίσετε usf. gegenüber modernem ὀρσε/ὀρίστε.

58^r10-^v6: Beim Verbot, d. h. verneinten Konjunktiv, steht in der Liste ausschließlich das intensive μηδέν, nicht einfach μή(ν). Auch hier schwankt der Gräko-phone zwischen Präsens- und Aoristformen, nur daß das Verhältnis jetzt umgekehrt ist: Auf 17 Präsentionen kommen ganze 3 Aoriste (μηδέν μάθης/ἐρθης /μάθετε); vgl. oben, Abschnitt 3, *Systematik*, Nrn. 23-4.

58^r12: Die Hs. bietet ὕριζις, was aber nicht für einen Einfluß nordneugriechischer Mundarten zu halten ist. Es fehlt nämlich das 2. Alif, welches aus ū ein o machen würde (Haplographie), und außerdem Damma. Vgl. ὕριστῆ in 61^r12, wo nur das 2. Alif ausgelassen ist.

59^r14: Siehe wegen (δέν) ἔρχονται den Komm. zu 57^r10.

59^v6: Bemerkenswert hier das gelehrte (δέν) ἔρχεσθε, während zweimal, 56^v12 und 58^v4, volkssprachliches ἔρχεστε erscheint.

59^v10: Auf das 'Fehlen' von Ny ephelkystikon beim Präteritum (δέν) ἦξευρε wurde schon hingewiesen (Komm. zu 54^v6).

59^v10-60^r14: In dieser Partie erscheint bei demselben Verb im negierten Ind. Aorist viermal sogenanntes doppeltes Augment (das zweite ist an sich keines mehr, weil es auch ins Nichtpräteritum verschleppt wurde — chiotisch ἀνεγνώνω usw., s. o.): δέν ἐνέγνωσεν, -ες, -α, -αν, worauf zweimal nur traditionelles 'inneres Augment' folgt: δέν ἀνεγνώσατε, -αμεν (60^v6/12). Einfaches inneres Augment begegnet außerdem in der gesamten Reihe des 'positiven' Ind. Aorist (54^v6 ἀνέγνωσεν bis 55^v2 ἀνέγνωσα). Unbetontes ἐ- für ἡ- bzw. ἄ- ist chiotisch (Pernot II 253-5), war aber auch sonst im O des griechischen Sprachgebiets verbreitet, besonders im Pontos (dort auch betont: ἑ-; Oikonomides 1958, 275-9). Vergleichbare chiotische Beispiele führt schon Germano an (Germano 1907 *Gramm.*, 76 ἀγαπῶ: ἐγάπου, -ας, -α, 77 ἀπεικάζω: ἐπέικαζα, 80 ἀνηβαίνω: ἐνήβηκα usw.).

59^v10-61^r2: In der Kategorie 'negiertes Präteritum' herrschen die Indikative des Aorists wieder absolut vor — alle anderen 9 Verben erscheinen hier ausschließlich in diesem Tempus (54 Fälle), nur ἡξεύρω naturgemäß im Imperfekt (6 Fälle). Insgesamt sind in den Kategorien, für die sowohl Präsens- wie Aoriststamm in Betracht kommen ('positives' und negiertes Präteritum, Konjunktiv und Verbot, Imperativ; zusammen 190 Fälle) die Aoristformen deutlich häufiger (138) als diejenigen des Präsensstammes (48) — die vier Fälle der νά-ὑπάγω-Reihe lassen sich zwar nicht absolut sicher klassifizieren, sind aber eher den Aoristen zuzurechnen. Somit beträgt das Verhältnis von Aorist- zu Präsensstamm-Formen fast 3:1.

60^r8: Die Hs. hat den 'eyrksa, d. h. das zweite Kasra (i) ist haplographisch ausgelassen; an seiner Stelle steht natürlich deswegen auch kein Sukūn (vgl. den Komm. zu 55^v2).

60^v6-10: Dieselbe chiotische Sekundäreendung -ετε der 2. Person Plural bei allen Verben wie oben, 55^r10-14 (s. den Komm. hierzu).

61^r2: Interessanterweise erscheint hier sogar betontes [le] gegenüber häufigerem [li] in (δέν) ἐφλοκαλέσαμεν (vgl. die Komm. zu 54^r12 und 61^r8/14).

61^r4-8: Vielgestaltig sind die substantivischen Entsprechungen der persischen Präsenspartizipien: Am häufigsten, in 7 von 10 Fällen, enden sie auf -της (5 Oxytona, 2 Paroxytona). Zwei der Oxytona, ἡξευρητής und φλοκαλετής (vgl. zum -ε- des letzteren 54^r12 und 61^r2), sind Hapax legomena; γρ(ο)ικητής ist u. a.

auch chiotisch (Germano 1907 *Voc.*, s. v. *Intenditore*: γρυκτητής). Morphologisch weicht γρ<μ>ματικός 'Schreiber' ab, paßt aber semasiologisch. Der Kodex schreibt diese Form, ebenso wie ihren Plural (61^r12) und die Partizipien γρ<μ>μένον, -α (61^v4/10), nur mit Mīm, d. h. ohne Tašdīd, das Zeichen für die Konsonantenlänge. Dies kann nur als Indiz für beabsichtigte nichtidiomatische, also Standard-Aussprache angesehen werden (vgl. den Komm. zu 56^v4; wegen der chiotischen Geminaten s. Pernot I 381-408 und bes. 402-3: hier sind γράμ-μα und γραμ-μένος ausdrücklich erwähnt). Bei den Begriffen *kommen* und (*weg*)*gehen* schließlich nimmt der Übersetzer die gelehrten nichtaktiven Präsens-Partizipien ἐρχόμενος/ἀπερχόμενος (letzteres ist wieder eine Suppletivform, vgl. 54^r4/6 πρόσταξις, ἀπέλευσις, σκούπισις). Entsprechend wird auch im anschließenden Plural verfahren.

61^r10-14: Bei den Nominativen des Plurals der soeben behandelten Kategorie bestehen, verglichen mit dem Singular, zwei Unterschiede in der Vokalisation: ἑξευρητάδες : ἡξευρητής, φλοκαληταί : φλοκαλετής. Weiter ist die Verteilung der Plural-Allomorphe interessant, die dem singularischen -της entsprechen: Unter den 5 Oxytona findet sich dreimal das volkstümliche ungleichsilbige -τάδες (ἑξευρητάδες, γρ(ο)ικητάδες, μαθητάδες), das natürlich auch chiotisch war (Germano 1907 *Gramm.*, 61: κριτής, -τάδες) und gewiß noch ist, obwohl es in Pernots systematischer Darstellung fehlt (II 69-70). Zweimal erscheint aber auch gelehrtes -ταί (in ὀρισταί und — eher unerwartet — φλοκαληταί). Volkssprachliches -τες begegnet nur im Plural des paroxytonen ἀναγνώστης, was nicht verwundert, während das ganz entsprechende δείχτης sich im Plural überraschenderweise durch das gelehrtere Partizip δέικνόντες vertreten läßt.

61^r12: Wegen der Verschreibung der Hs. 'uristē s. den Komm. zu 58^r12.

61^v2-4: Im Singular der Partizipien des Perfekt Passiv fällt auf, daß mit dem Maskulinum begonnen (ἡξευρημένος — anscheinend ein Hapax, γρ(ο)ικισμένος, μαθημένος), dann jedoch ab ἀναγνωσμένον mit dem Neutrum fortgefahren wird; nur neutrale Formen erscheinen im Plural. Dies Schwanken erklärt sich daraus, daß das Neupersische — ähnlich wie etwa die Turksprachen — keine Genusunterschiede kennt. Ein Übersetzer von Wortlisten oder Lexika hatte mithin sozusagen die freie Auswahl zwischen den Genera der Sprache, in die er übertrug, wenn es sich um Adjektive oder Partizipien handelte. Das Neutrum mag unserem Gräköphonen als gegenüber dem Maskulinum und Femininum 'merkmallos' und deshalb besser geeignet erschienen sein. Im Persischen wie im Griechischen, Singular wie Plural, fehlen die Entsprechungen für *gekommen* und (*weg*)*gegangen*, obwohl auf Blatt 61^v noch reichlich Platz ist. Schade, die griechischen (Suppletiv-)Formen wären interessant gewesen.

Abschließend soll eine Aufstellung der 386 Formen unserer Liste nach Sprachschichten folgen, deren Zahlen allerdings wegen der Schwierigkeiten bei der Abgrenzung nur approximative Geltung beanspruchen dürfen: Nach meiner Zählung sind 194 Formen, d. i. gut die Hälfte, volkssprachlich, nur 20 gelehrt, 67

unbestimmbar ('allgemeingriechisch') und 75 chiotisch; es bleibt ein Rest von 30 verschiedenen gearteten Mischformen. Rechnet man 'Chiotismen' und unbestimmbare Formen den volkssprachlichen zu, ergeben sich 336 im weiteren Sinne 'neugriechische' Formen, das sind fast sieben Achtel der Gesamtzahl. Der umgangssprachliche Charakter der Verbformenliste ist nicht zu verkennen.

5 Schlußbemerkungen

Kodex AS 4749 trägt ebenso wie seine nur das viersprachige *Gesprächslehrbuch* enthaltende Schwesterhandschrift AS 4750 als ältestes Siegel die Tughra Sultan Bayezids II., der von 1481 bis 1512 als Sohn und Nachfolger Mehmeds II. Fatih regierte (Lehfeldt 1989, 11-2). Diese Tatsache enthält eine doppelte Information: a) wird deutlich, daß beide Prunkhandschriften und damit auch die zweisprachige Verbformenliste zu Bayezids persönlichem Eigentum gehörten, und b) ergibt sich als fester *terminus ante quem* der Abfassung das Jahr 1512. Weiter wird als Auftraggeber derselbe Sultan oder — bei früher Entstehung der Sammelhandschrift 4749 — evtl. sein Vater, der Eroberer Konstantinopels, wahrscheinlich.¹¹ Es erhebt sich aber sofort die Frage, was ausgerechnet der von der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung als der 'heilige' oder 'fromme' Sultan (Walī/Velī) bezeichnete Bayezid¹² mit Büchern gewollt habe, aus denen man die Hauptsprachen der überwundenen und unterworfenen *Rāya*, Griechisch und Serbisch, erlernen konnte. Nun, für die Beantwortung bedarf es keiner allzu großen Phantasie; man sollte m. E. zunächst an die zwei christlichen Sultansmütter der in Betracht kommenden Zeit denken.

Die eine war pontische Griechin mit dem Taufnamen Maria, sie wurde aber bei Hofe wegen ihrer außergewöhnlichen Schönheit Gülbahar (pers.-türk. 'Frühlingsrose') genannt.¹³ Ihr Lebensende verbrachte sie in Trapezunt, wo sie 1495 oder 1505 verstarb.¹⁴ Anscheinend ist unbekannt, wieviel Türkisch diese wohl aus einfachen dörflichen Verhältnissen¹⁵ stammende Frau konnte, doch läge immer-

11 So schon der Entdecker und erste Beschreiber beider Hss., Caferoğlu 1936, 186-7.

12 Etwa passim in den Chroniken des Oruç und des Anonymus Hanivaldanus, mir nur bekannt aus der deutschen Übersetzung (Kreutel 1978).

13 Den (brieflichen) Hinweis auf *Gülbahar* verdanke ich O. Lampsidēs, Athen, dem gelehrten Herausgeber des 'Αρχαίων Πόντου und langjährigen Vorsitzenden der 'Επιτροπή Ποντιακών Μελετών. Zu den vielen Problemen, die *Gülbahars* Biographie birgt, s. etwa Sperantas s.v. Γκιούλ-Μπαχάρ. Unverständlicherweise gibt Alderson (1956, 83) ihre ethnische Herkunft als 'Ottoman' an. Dies wird durch zwei Fakten widerlegt: a) durch die arab.-pers. Inschrift ihres Mausoleums in Trapezunt, vgl. etwa Sperantas oder Chrysanthos 1936, 518, worin sie "rhomäische Herrscherin" genannt wird, sowie b) durch die Existenz des jedenfalls noch um 1900 bei kappadokischen Griechinnen belegten Taufnamens Κουλπαχάρ, der sichtlich eine neugriech. dialektale Reminiszenz an *Gülbahar* darstellt — die orthodoxe Kirche hätte diesen Namen nie zugelassen, wenn die ursprüngliche Trägerin Mohammedanerin gewesen wäre. (Zu Κουλπαχάρ s. Vasileiadēs 1897, 430; vgl. auch Buturas 1912, 151 — zu *bahar*² ἄρωμα.)

14 1495: Sperantas; 1505: Chrysanthos 1936 und Lampsidēs 1974, 185.

15 Nach der Überlieferung war G. die Tochter eines Popen aus Δουβερὰ (modern Λιβερὰ) in der Landschaft Chaldia, vgl. Lampsidēs 1974 und Sperantas. In diesem Zusammenhang sei daran erinnert, daß griechische Mädchen auch z.B. in der Großstadt Trapezunt noch um die Mitte des 19. Jh.s in aller Regel nicht griechisch schreiben lernten, vom Türkischen ganz zu schweigen, s. Chatzēsavidēs 1987, 249-50.

hin nahe, daß Bayezid — oder schon sein Vater Mehmed — Griechisch nicht zuletzt deshalb habe lernen wollen, um sich besser mit ihr unterhalten zu können. Ist dies richtig, muß der *terminus ante quem* für beide Handschriften mindestens auf 1505 hinuntergesetzt werden.

Die andere, ältere orthodoxe *Valide Sultan* der hier interessierenden Zeitspanne war Mara, Tochter des serbischen Despoten Djuradj Branković, Gemahlin Murads II. (1421-1451) und Stiefmutter Mehmeds II., die mütterlicherseits von den Großkomnenen des Kaiserreichs Trapezunt abstammte.¹⁶ Diese Fürstin hatte großen Einfluß auf ihren Stiefsohn; so wurde die dreimalige Einsetzung des Trapezuntiner Mönches Symeon als Ökumenischer Patriarch (Amtszeiten 1466, 1471-74, 1482-85) durch sie veranlaßt. Natürlich wird bei beiden Sultanen außer der Absicht, sich mit diesen weiblichen Angehörigen besser zu verständigen, der starke Wunsch mitgespielt haben, sich auch direkt mit ihren griechischen und slavischen Untertanen zu unterhalten, sowie vermutlich als weiterer Wunsch, die diplomatische Korrespondenz mit dem Westen, die ja damals größtenteils in griechischer, aber auch serbischer Sprache geführt wurde (Lehfeldt 1989, 12-5), leichter kontrollieren zu können.

Während der erheblich längere Text des *Gesprächslehrbuches* in seiner griechischen Fassung ein unverkennbar pontisches Kolorit aufweist,¹⁷ woraus sich als *terminus post quem* für beide Handschriften 1461, das Jahr der Einverleibung Trapezunts ins Osmanenreich, ergibt, muß die Verbformenliste von einem anderen Übersetzer stammen, da dessen Mundarthintergrund auf Chios deutet. (Freilich ist nicht zu übersehen, daß allzu 'grobe' chiotische Elemente vermieden werden: Es fehlen insbesondere die auffälligen phonetischen Merkmale des Inselidioms, wie etwa lange Konsonanten oder die Palatalisierung [k] > [ts].) Daß aber ein Chiote an unserer bilingualen Rarität beteiligt war, ist um so erstaunlicher, als seine Insel ja im fraglichen Zeitraum noch zu Genua gehörte — die türkische Besetzung fand erst 1566 statt.

Die Anonymität des so früh im Dienste des Sultans oder Thronfolgers tätig gewordenen Chioten konnte hier nicht gelüftet werden. Vorerst darf, weil sich sowohl nord- wie auch stadtchiotische Elemente feststellen ließen, als wahrscheinlich gelten, daß der Übersetzer in einem Dorf im N der Insel aufgewachsen ist, aber auch in der Inselhauptstadt gelebt hat, bevor er nach Konstantinopel ging, wo er vermutlich zum Islam konvertierte. Das durch seine arabische Schrift so verfremdete und deswegen hier transkribierte Stückchen frühneugriechischer Gebrauchsliteratur, das uns beschäftigt hat, könnte man in Analogie zu der *Φραγκοχώτικα* genannten umfangreichen, ab 1567 belegbaren lateinschriftlichen religiösen Literatur der Katholiken des Ägäisraums in griechischer Sprache¹⁸ als

16 Lampsidēs 1974; Lehfeldt 1989, 12. Zum Patriarchen Symeon I. s. Chrysanthos 1936, 525-6.

17 Henrich 1989, 365, 367, 372. Sehr viel ausführlicher behandle ich die zahlreichen pontischen Dialektelemente dieses Textes in einem am 7.5.1988 unter dem Titel Τα ποντιακά στοιχεία σε ελληνόγλωσσο ισλαμικό κείμενο της εποχής του 1500 an der Univ. Saloniki gehaltenen Referat, das z.Zt. (März 1992) für den kommenden Supplementband der Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης im Druck ist.

18 Siehe besonders Dalleggio 1961. Vgl. auch Vitti 1961. Seither ist ein bedeutendes Werk dieser Gattung der Vergessenheit entrissen worden: 'Αγνώστου Χίου Ποιητή, Δαβίδ, ανέκδοτο διαλογικό στιχούργημα, ἀνέυρεση - κριτική έκδοση Θ. Ι. Παπαδοπούλου, Athen 1979.

‘turkochiotisches’ Unikum bezeichnen. Für die neugriechische Dialektologie ist es als bisher älteste umfangreichere Quelle chiotischen Materials von Wert. Die an sich gewiß anspruchslose Liste wird weiter als ein bescheidenes Zeugnis der Einwirkung der späten Rhomäer auf das siegreiche Osmanentum zu betrachten sein.

Wenn, wie soeben wahrscheinlich zu machen versucht wurde, in erster Linie private Gründe für die Abfassung der zweisprachigen Verballiste maßgeblich waren, erklärt sich auch das so eindrucksvolle Vorwiegen volkssprachlicher Formen unter den griechischen leicht: Es kam Auftraggeber(n), Übersetzer und Adressat(en) offenbar auf die zeitgenössische Umgangssprache der Oberschicht an. Abschließend sei erwähnt, daß dieser orientalische Ansatz einer neugriechischen Grammatik als kleine Pionierarbeit angesehen werden kann, da er mindestens ein halbes Jahrhundert älter ist als die älteste vollständige ‘europäische’ Grammatik der Volkssprache, die von Nikolaos Sophianos.

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BEMERKUNGEN ZU ALTGRIECHISCHEN RESTEN IN DIALEKTEN DER INSEL LESBOS

E. Kriaras

Yorgos Yannoulellis, der uns früher bereits wertvolle Arbeiten im Bereich der Sammlung und Bearbeitung lexikologischen, toponymischen und terminologischen Materials der Insel Lesbos gegeben hat, verdanken wir jetzt eine neue bemerkenswerte Abhandlung, mit dem Titel "Alt- und mittelgriechische Wörter in den Dialekten der Insel Lesbos, die nicht begegnen in der neugriechischen Koinè" (Yannoulellis 1989), aus der wir bestimmte alt- und mittelgriechische Reste besser verstehen können. Diese Arbeit bietet uns ausgiebiges Material, das in mehreren Punkten einen Zusatz bildet zu der äußerst wertvollen lexikographischen Studie meines unvergeßlichen Freundes und Kollegen Nikolaos Andriotis, *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten* (Andriotis 1974). Obwohl der Autor der Studie, die mich hier beschäftigt, offensichtlich nicht bekannt ist mit dem erwähnten Lexikon, sind die sprachwissenschaftlichen Daten, die er uns verschafft, so wertvoll, daß man ihm diese Versäumnis durch die Finger sehen kann. Trotz aller Anerkennung für Yannoulellis' Beitrag werde ich hier einige Bemerkungen formulieren.

Im Vorwort zu seinem Lexikon schreibt Andriotis, daß er nicht alle 'Archaismen' aus den neugriechischen Dialekten aufgenommen hat,¹ das heißt: die Archaismen aus dem Mittellgriechischen hat er unberücksichtigt gelassen, weil diese

1 Beiläufig bemerke ich, daß, jedenfalls im Neugriechischen, das deutsche 'Archaismen' aus dem Titel nicht mit αρχαϊσμοί übersetzt werden darf. In den neugriechischen Dialekten gibt es im Grunde keine αρχαϊσμοί, sondern begegnen wir altgriechischen sprachlichen Resten. Daß Wörter mit beschränktem örtlichem Gebrauch 'Reste' genannt werden, scheint mir berechtigt zu sein, während das Wort αρχαϊσμός, wenigstens in der griechischen sprachwissenschaftlichen Literatur, uns auf die neugriechische 'Sprachfrage' verweist und auf die absichtliche Archaisierungstendenz — eine Tendenz die in den neugriechischen Dialekten natürlich nicht begegnet.

nicht sehr alt sind, aber auch weil es sich gewöhnlich nicht um Simplizia handelt, sondern um Neuableitungen und Komposita. Wie er aber erklärt, hat er die Absicht "in einem späteren Zeitpunkt ... bei besonders interessanten Fällen auch mittellgriechische Stichwörter in strenger Auslese einzubeziehen" (Andriotis 1974, 8).

Yannoulellis versucht teils in der Praxis was Andriotis nicht mehr vergönnt war zu tun. So ist in seiner Abhandlung häufig die Rede von einer mittellgriechischen Herkunft von Wörtern; man könnte sogar vielleicht sagen, daß er manchmal die Grenzen seiner Forschung überschreitet, wenn er auch Wörter erörtert oder erwähnt, die zwar dialektisch sind, aber von denen es bis jetzt noch kein geschriebenes Zeugnis gibt. Ein solches Zeugnis würde einen Beweis dafür bilden, daß diese Wörter bereits zur Zeit des Mittelalters gebildet worden waren. Aber auch die Tatsache, daß es nicht eine solche Erwähnung gibt, wird niemand überzeugen, daß jedenfalls einige dieser Wörter keinen mittelalterlichen Ursprung haben. Wie dem auch sei, die Daten die Yannoulellis uns verschafft, sind nicht nur sehr willkommen, sondern auch sehr wertvoll, weil wir noch nicht verfügen — und wie es aussieht noch lange Zeit nicht verfügen werden — über den vollständigen, lexikographisch bearbeiteten Thesaurus des Neugriechischen (der Koinè und der Dialekte). (Jedenfalls ein Glück, daß die letzten Jahre eine gewisse Kontinuität in den Faszikeln des Historischen Lexikons der Athener Akademie entstanden ist).

In dieser Abhandlung werde ich natürlich nicht eine vollständige kritische Prüfung von Yannoulellis' Arbeit versuchen. Ich werde beispielshalber bestimmte seiner Feststellungen und Urteile geben und erörtern, jedesmal im Vergleich zu dem, was Andriotis in seinem Lexikon (Andriotis 1974) registriert hat. Auf diese Weise benachdrucke ich auch die Bedeutung von Yannoulellis' Arbeit (Yannoulellis 1989).

Der Autor teilt uns am Anfang seiner Arbeit mit, daß "ziemlich viel [von den Wörtern, die ihn beschäftigen] vergessen sind, jedenfalls von den Jugendlichen, auch auf Lesbos, in dem Dialekt, der bis zum Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts täglich gesprochen wurde" (Yannoulellis 1989, 128). Das heißt, wir verfügen über Material aus früheren Zeiten, das dafür desto unschätzbarer für uns ist.

Andriotis teilt uns im Vorwort seines Lexikons mit, daß er reichlich heutiges dialektologisches Material benutzt hat, das er vor allem mit einem Teil des altgriechischen Vokabulars verbinden konnte und nur in geringerem Umfang mit dem Vokabular des Mittelalters. Er gibt zu daß in dem Lexikon bestimmte dialektische Elemente fehlen, die von der dialektologischen Forschung bis damals (1974) noch nicht festgestellt waren. Aus dem Gebiet Lesbos z.B., aus welchem auch Yannoulellis' Arbeit schöpft, berücksichtigt Andriotis natürlich die beinahe zehn sprachwissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen, die sich auf das Vokabular, die Volkskunde und die toponymische und allgemeine sprachwissenschaftliche Erforschung des Dialekts beziehen. Die Veröffentlichungen von Yannoulellis, die alle später als 1974, das Publikationsjahr von Andriotis' Lexikon, sind, hat der Forscher natürlich nicht benutzen können. Andererseits ist es zu bedauern, daß Yannoulellis, obwohl er nach 1974 schreibt, Andriotis' Arbeit nicht berücksichtigt hat.

Jetzt folgen meine Bemerkungen in Bezug auf das archaische Material in den Dialekten der Insel Lesbos, wobei ich das Lexikon von Andriotis und die neueste Arbeit von Yannoulellis neben einander benutzen werde.

ανταμοιβή. Das lesbische *αγκιμδῆ*, wie Andriotis (1974, Nr. 707) es registriert, und *αγκιμδῆ*, wie Yannoulellis (1989, 133) es gibt, in der adverbialen Bedeutung 'bezahrend mit derselben Münze' wird von Andriotis wahrscheinlich zu Recht von dem alt- (und neu-) griechischen *ανταμοιβή* abgeleitet und nicht von *αντικομδῆ*, wie Yannoulellis meint. Andriotis nennt auch verwandte Formen aus anderen Dialekten, während Yannoulellis das dem Lesbischen verwandte *αγκομιδά* nach dem Zeugnis des Michalis Meraklis (1973, 100) erwähnt.

απόπυρος. In Bezug auf das Adjektiv *απόπυρος*, mit der Bedeutung 'lauwarm', wie Yannoulellis (1989, 138-9) es erwähnt, bemerke ich, daß es nicht mit *υπόπυρος* zusammenhängt, wie Yannoulellis meint, sondern auf die Präposition *από* und das Substantiv *πυρ* zurückgeht. *Υπόπυρος* wird erwähnt von Andriotis (1974, Nr. 5158).

αποφαίνομαι. Das, was Andriotis (1974, Nr. 1107) bemerkt, wird bereichert durch die Mitteilung (Yannoulellis 1989, 138), daß das Verb in der Form *απουφαίνουμι* auch auf Lesbos begegnet, mit der Bedeutung 'φανερώνομαι, εκδηλώνομαι'.

αψίς. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 1394) erwähnt neuere Formen des archaischen *αψίς*, nicht aber das Diminutiv *τα ψίδια* (= offenbar *τα αψίδια*) = 'die vorderen Obertheile der Schuhe' (s. Chatzidakis 1905, 403).

βασταγάριος. Das Wort *βασταγάρης* (mittelgr. *βασταγάριος*), das von Andriotis (1974, Nr. 1433) erwähnt wird, begegnet auch auf Lesbos als Substantiv *βασταγαριά* (Yannoulellis 1989, 141), mit der Bedeutung 'Mitella'.

βρούκος. Die spätere und heute dialektische Form *βρούχος* (altgr. *βρούκος* = 'flügellose Heuschreckenart') begegnet auch in anderen Dialekten (s. Andriotis 1974, Nr. 1589), aber auch auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 141).

δαμάζω. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 1745) erwähnt *δαμάζω* mit seinen Resten in den neugriechischen Dialekten. Es muß hinzugefügt werden, daß in Plomari auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 142) die reifen vom Baum gefallenen Oliven (*θρούμπες ελιές*) *δαμαστές* genannt werden. Es gibt sogar auch ein Verb *δαμαστύνω* (von dem Adjektiv *δαμαστός*) = 'gemästet werden' (*σιτεύω*, intransitiv).

διποδώ. Das altgriechische *διποδώ* ist auf Lesbos erhalten (Yannoulellis 1989, 134) in der Form *αλπουδώ* = 'springend mit beide Beinen gegen einander gedrückt laufen' (in figürlichem Gebrauch). Vgl. auch *αλπούτζα* (Yannoulellis 1989, 135). Diese lesbischen Wörter aber haben nicht genau dieselbe Bedeutung

wie das altgriechische διποδῶ. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 1904) bezeugt die Form αλπουδῶ von Imbros.

διττός. Das altgriechische Adjektiv διττός, nicht von Andriotis erwähnt, begegnet im Neutrum auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 143), in der Bedeutung 'Strickarbeit mit zwei Sorten Wolle'.

εἰδῶλον. Das Wort εἰδῶλον (Andriotis 1974, Nr. 2042) begegnet auch im lesbischen Dialekt (Yannoulellis 1989, 141), in der Form γείδουλο und mit der Bedeutung 'Schreckgespenst'.

ελεδώνη. Für das altgriechische ελεδώνη, erwähnt von Andriotis (1974, Nr. 2181), gibt Yannoulellis (1989, 152) die Form μιλιδόνα, die bedeutet 'eine Art Tintenfisch die sich nicht um den Arm windet wenn er angefaßt wird'. Andriotis gibt auch andere, verwandte Formen.

επιλογή. Yannoulellis (1989, 138) erwähnt das Wort ἀπολογή mit der Bedeutung 'Auswahl' (επιλογή). Das Wort wird nicht von Andriotis erwähnt.

ερινεός. Die Erhaltung des altgriechischen ερινεός in den neugriechischen Dialekten wird von Andriotis (1974, Nr. 2523) festgestellt, nicht aber auf Lesbos, wo es, laut Yannoulellis (1989, 157), begegnet in der Form ουνρός, mit der Bedeutung 'sehr kleine, tiefgrüne unreife Feige, bevor sie zu schwellen anfängt', wie auch 'männliche Feige, in der sich eine kleine Fliege entwickelt, die die Bestäubung bewirkt'.

έψω. Von dem altgriechischen έψω erwähnt Andriotis (1974, Nr. 2631), außer der Form έφτω (Kos), nur Adjektive mit dem Stamm von έψω als zweiter Komponente. Yannoulellis (1989, 167) gibt auch das Adjektiv ψούμενος (und ψίμενους), natürlich von εψόμενος.

έχι(δ)να. Das spätere έχινα (Form von έχιδνα) begegnet auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 157) in der Form όχινα (η), in den Wortspiel-Fluchen (όχινα να σ'έρ'), die gesagt werden zu denen die 'nein' antworten auf einen Vorschlag oder ein Angebot. Vgl. was gesagt wird zu dem entsprechenden Fall οχιά (= έχιδνα).

εύφρανσις. φρασά (aus dem Ausdruck εν είνι το φρασάς = 'das gefällt mir nicht') wird von Yannoulellis (1989, 166) abgeleitet von dem späteren ευφρασία > φρασιά = ευφροσύνη, während Andriotis (1974, Nr. 2615) es ableitet vom Substantiv *εύφρανσις = 'angenehmer Geschmack des Essens'. Es wird jetzt eine Erwähnung aus Lesbos hinzugefügt; Andriotis gibt nur ein Zeugnis aus Kreta.

ιχνίον. Auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 140) begegnet αχνί τῷ αχνάρ, adverbial mit der Bedeutung 'mit jeder Einzelheit'. Auf Lesbos begegnet auch das Verb ξαχναρίζου = 'ausführlich beschreiben'. Laut Andriotis (1974, Nr. 2907) geht

dies zurück auf das Substantiv ίχνος. Auf Imbros wird heute χνάζ (= *ιχνάζει) gesagt und auf Kreta im Plural 'ξίχνη (τα) = ίχνη.

κενώω. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 3245) erwähnt zwar κενώνω, nicht aber mit der Bedeutung 'Essen servieren', wie es auch auf Lesbos begegnet (Yannoulellis 1989, 165).

κέρας. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 3249) führt s.v. κέρας Wörter mit zweiter Komponente κέρας an, nicht aber τῶραυλή (= κεραυλή) von Lesbos (κέρας + αυλός = 'hohles Rohr'), das auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 164) die Ziege mit großen geraden Hörnern andeutet.

κηκίς. Das altgriechische κηκίς = 'Eichel' ist auf Lesbos in der Form τῶητσίδα erhalten. Es wird nicht von Andriotis bezeugt.

κίνδαλος. Auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 165) begegnet das Wort τσιωτάλια, Neutrum Plural = 'kleine, zylindrische Hölzer mit denen am Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts gespielt wurde'. Das Wort ist offenbar ein Diminutiv von κίνδαλος = 'Pfahl', das nicht im Lexikon von Andriotis erwähnt wird.

κίνησις. Auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 164) begegnet das Wort τῶινσ' = 'Bewegung, mit der Bedeutung "Durchfall" '. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 3300) erwähnt dieses Wort mit dieser Bedeutung nur aus dem Pontus.

κοιτάζω. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 3385) erwähnt s.v. κοιτάζω = 'schlafen (in Bezug auf Vögel)' nicht Lesbos (vgl. Yannoulellis 1989, 165).

κόχλαξ. Die Form χόχλακας Plur. χοχλάκοι, wird auch auf Lesbos bezeugt (Yannoulellis 1989, 167). Diese Form wird von Andriotis (1974, Nr. 3512) aus anderen Orten bezeugt.

κύταλον. Yannoulellis (1989, 164) erwähnt s.v. τῳίταλον (= 'trockenes und hartes Stückchen Brot') aus Hesych κίττυλα = 'die Schale der Früchte', wie auch aus Du Cange κίταλον = 'crusta panis', und aus Prodomos A 83: επιθυμῶ και το ψωμίν και κύταλον και ψίχαν. Yannoulellis erwähnt die Meinung von Korais ('Ατακτα A 58), der das Wort von dem Substantiv κύτος = 'Höhlung' ableitet, aber nicht ohne Zweifel. Wir wissen, daß κύταλον auch im Pontus und auf Chios und Imbros begegnet (s. Andriotis 1974, Nr. 3606). Ich bemerke, daß H. Pernot (1946, 445-6; vgl. auch Kriaras 1969, s.v. κύταλον) Korais' Etymologie akzeptiert, während Andriotis (1974, Nr. 341) das Wort von κύταλον herleitet, das natürlich zurückgeht auf κύτος.

μαλλόρυπος. *Μαλλόρυπος, das von Andriotis (1974, Nr. 3881) als hypothetisch vorgelegt wird, begegnet in den lesbischen Dialekten (Yannoulellis 1989, 151) in der Form μαλλόρπους und mit der Bedeutung 'fetter Schmutz in den Haaren der

Schafe'; auch bezeichnet es die 'schwarze Flüssigkeit, die beim Waschen entsteht'.

μόςχος. Auf das alt- und neugriechische μόσχος wird das neuere Verb μουσκεύω zurückgeführt (s. Andriotis 1983, s.v.). Auf Lesbos haben wir das Substantiv μουσχούδ = μούσκεμα in adverbialer Verwendung (Yannoulellis 1989, 152). Gleichzeitig begegnet auf Lesbos auch das Substantiv μουσκιός (*ibidem*), das 'einen kleinen Tintenfisch der beim Austrocknen viel Wasser verliert' bezeichnet.

μύρον. Das altgriechische μύρον begegnet auf Lesbos in der Form des Diminutivs μυρτζίδ = 'stark duftende Blume' (Yannoulellis 1989, 153). Andriotis erwähnt keine dialektische Formen des Substantivs μύρον.

νομεύω. Das altgriechische νομεύω (Andriotis 1974, Nr. 4238) ist auf Kypros in der Form νομεύγω erhalten. Ähnlich begegnet auf Lesbos das Substantiv νουμή (= altgr. νομή) mit der Bedeutung 'Weide- oder Durchgangsrecht' (Yannoulellis 1989, 153).

ξόανον. Das bei Andriotis (1974, Nr. 4283) erwähnte ξόανον begegnet auch auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 155) in der Form ξόγανου, die sich auch auf Imbros findet (Andriotis 1974, Nr. 4283).

παράστολος. Das von Andriotis (1974, Nr. 4689) als Diminutiv erwähnte παράστολος, wird von Yannoulellis (1989, 158) auch auf Lesbos bezeugt in der Neutralform παραστόλ, mit der Bedeutung 'körperlich und psychisch mit Fehler behaftete Person'. Das Wort hat auf Lesbos sogar auch ein abgeleitetes Verb παραστουλιάζω, mit eigentümlichen Bedeutungen.

πέρπερις. Auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 159) wird der Intelligente, aber auch der mit Schönheitssinn Begabte (in Ayassos), πρπρής genannt. Das Wort steht in Beziehung mit dem Adjektiv πέρπερος, das von Andriotis (1974, Nr. 4853) erwähnt wird und im Altgriechischen 'eitel, wichtigtuerisch', bedeutet. Die Form auf Lesbos wird von Andriotis nicht erwähnt.

ποντίζω. Auf Lesbos (Yannoulellis 1989, 152) begegnet μπουντίζου (= ποντίζω), das 'anöden; machen, daß jemand die Fassung verliert' bedeutet. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 4993) hat ποντίζω, aber ohne die dialektische Form von Lesbos zu erwähnen.

σιφωνίζω. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 5368) erwähnt s.v. σιφωνίζω (= 'trocknen') nicht die Form τσιφνιάζου = 'Kehle und Mund trocknen mir vom Durst oder vom Schreien aus', die auf Lesbos bezeugt wird (Yannoulellis 1989, 164-5).

στρομβίς. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 5609) bezeugt ein hypothetisches *στρομβίς, aber ohne das lesbische στρόμπους (= στρόμβος) (Yannoulellis 1989, 163), das

'die Schlinge im Strick in der sich gegen die Dolle gedrückt, das Ruder des Bootes dreht' bedeutet, zu erwähnen.

συμπιῶ. Yannoulellis (1989, 163-4) erwähnt, in Bezug auf das lesbische τζμπει (das nur in der dritten Person begegnet und 'nützen, jemandem gut tun' bedeutet), mit Recht G.N. Chatzidakis' Etymologie (Chatzidakis 1917, 197). Andriotis' Bemerkung (Andriotis 1974, Nr. 5737), daß das Verb mit dem neugriechischen συμπάω (σύν + υπάγω) in Verbindung gebracht werden könnte, scheint mir nicht begründet.

τέως. Das Wort τέως = 'vorerst, zunächst, wenigstens' hat auch Andriotis (1974, Nr. 5977) beschäftigt, der sogar auf Amandos (1964, 272 f.) verweist. Andriotis erwähnt aus Chios und Lesbos die Formen τῶς, θῶς, und nur aus Chios die Form θκῶς; Yannoulellis aber erwähnt keine solchen Formen.

τιμητής. S.v. τιμητής gibt Andriotis (1974, Nr. 5994) die allgemeine Bedeutung 'Schätzmeister, der den Wert oder Preis bestimmt'; Yannoulellis (1989, 164) aber bemerkt zu der Form τιμητής, daß dieses Wort gewöhnlich für den Oliventaxator gebraucht wird. Vgl. auch Andriotis (1974, Nr. 5993), wo bemerkt wird, daß das Wort τίμηση auf Chios begegnet mit der Bedeutung 'die Hälfte des Einkommens'. Das Wort τίμηση (Form τίμισ) begegnet auch auf Lesbos, mit der Bedeutung 'Taxation, Festsetzung des Wertes'. Zu dem Wort τιμησιῶ und seiner Bedeutung, siehe Andriotis (1974, *ibidem*).

τρίκοκκος. S.v. τρίκοκκος erwähnt Andriotis (1974, Nr. 6063) aus Dialekten das Wort τρικοκκιά (= 'kleiner wilder Baum'), nicht aber aus Lesbos (s. Yannoulellis 1989, 164, s.v. τρικουτῶ).

υφορώμαι. Das lesbische φουρούμι = 'jemanden verdächtigen' muß auf das altgriechische υφορώμαι zurückgeführt werden (s. Chatzidakis 1905, 159) und nicht auf das altgriechische φωράω, wie bei Yannoulellis (1989, 165-6; s. auch Andriotis 1974, Nr. 6261).

φριμάω - φριμάσσω. Das altgriechische φριμάω - φριμάσσω hört man auf Lesbos als φρουμάζω (Yannoulellis 1989, 166) mit der Bedeutung 'sehr laut atmen (in Bezug auf Tiere)' und 'drohen usw.' Von Andriotis wird es nicht erwähnt.

χαίνω. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 6443) erwähnt nur das pontische αχάνω = 'den Mund öffnen'. Aber auf Lesbos begegnet auch χανίζουμι = 'gähnen, den Mund öffnen'.

χρίστης. Auf Lesbos, mehr speziell in Plomari und Ayassos, wird die Form χρίσης (= χρίστης) bezeugt (Yannoulellis 1989, 167) mit der Bedeutung 'Wasserfarbemaler'. Andriotis (1974, Nr. 6581) erwähnt nur πηλοχρίστης aus Chios, mit der Bedeutung 'ungeschickter Maurer'.

χρῖω. Auf das altgriechische χρῖω wird das lesbische χρω = 'mit Wasserfarbe streichen' zurückgeführt (Yannoulellis 1989, 167). Andriotis (1974, Nr. 6581) erwähnt keine Form von Lesbos.

χώρις. Von dem späteren χώρις wird auf Lesbos χώρις (η) = 'Grenze zwischen zwei Grundstücken' bezeugt (Yannoulellis 1989, 167). Andriotis (1974, Nr. 6614) erwähnt das Wort nur aus Kydonien (= Ayvalık).

Meine Schlußfolgerung ist, daß Yannoulellis' Arbeit einen wertvollen Beitrag bildet, nicht nur weil sie in Bezug auf bestimmte Lemmata die Daten, wie Andriotis' Lexikon sie über die altgriechischen Reste in den neugriechischen Dialekten gibt, ergänzt, sondern auch weil sie dialektisches Vokabular von Lesbos registriert und erhält.

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'DULL GOLD AND GORY PURPLE'. IMAGES OF BYZANTIUM.*

Remieg Aerts

In a recent initiative a Dutch department store chose 'Byzantium' as theme for its decoration and for its merchandise. The designer-inspired idea was intended to suggest the use of rich materials. At the same time, clothing, interior decoration, arts and crafts and holiday trips were recommended with catchphrases like "East meets West", "the splendour of bygone days", or "the nostalgia of exuberance". Again, on an expensive location in Amsterdam a block of luxurious appartments has been built, called 'Byzantium'. Brands of perfume and boutiques selling lingerie and leatherware are graced with the same name. In the vapid cliché-ridden language of the advertisers 'Byzantium' evokes a sensual, mystical, sophisticated melting-pot culture. It would appear that the very sound of the word 'Byzantium' conjures up a world of wealth, elegance and extravagance. This ability to evoke associations has always been an intrinsic part of the word 'Byzantium'. Nowadays these associations tend to be of a rather positive nature — a fact which may surprise, because during the last three centuries Byzantium has generally been a metaphor for the most degenerate aspects of human behaviour and culture.

This essay is not about the real Byzantium. Rather, it is about the commonplace Byzantium, an emblem at the service of property developers, journalists, artists, controversialists, social critics, and the prophets of cultural decline. I shall not concern myself with the serious, scholarly authorities on the subject. Independently of their academic studies of Byzantine history and culture, and sometimes even inspired by these, autonomous popular images have developed, which fulfil a particular function in our language and culture. Such images, scientific or not, have often declined into caricature and become the standard metaphorical denotation of 'Byzantine' and 'Byzantinism'. This essay will present some of the

* Translation: Walter van der Star.

images and caricatures of Byzantium which, since the eighteenth century, have been devised by intellectuals in Western Europe and which have led a tenaciously autonomous life within thought and language. 'Babylon', 'China', 'Russia', and 'America' have a similar function as models or repositories for qualifying associations (see Said 1979; Naarden 1986, 7-28; Van Berkel 1990). Such images always have a polemic or critical function and therefore shed more light on the wants and the way of thinking of the user than on the subject itself.

What role did 'Byzantium' play in Western European culture? We shall find out from the dictionaries and encyclopaedias which have established the common idiomatic usage of words in each period, and furthermore from the observations of philosophers of history, cultural theorists, and men of letters — those authors for whom Byzantium is not the actual subject, but only serves as a means or an argument. There are various excellent surveys of serious Byzantinology. In this essay, however, the dabblers and dilettanti will have their say.

What image of Byzantium was presented in the common idiomatic usage, such as this was recorded in dictionaries and encyclopaedias? From a brief survey of the dictionaries of several European languages (English, German, French, Italian and Dutch), we learn that all these languages possess a noun *Byzantinism* and an adjective *Byzantine*, with connotations which apparently go back to conceptions of Byzantium in earlier history. However, it is remarkable that in each language these words bring different associations to mind and seem to be connected with a slightly different conception of Byzantium.

English reference works suggest that, until the twentieth century, hardly any derivative meanings were associated with words such as *Byzantine*, *Byzantinism* and *Byzantinesque*. Samuel Johnson (1755, see Johnson 1979) was not yet familiar with the expression (he merely mentions a coin named 'Bizantine'). During the nineteenth century only neutral definitions were mentioned. This does not appear to be in keeping with the impression conveyed by J.B. Bury (1889, viii). Bury, after all, avoided the adjectives *Byzantine* and *Greek*, partly because he considered them already too tainted with "prejudicial associations" — a legacy of the unjust representations of the Byzantine period by eighteenth-century historians. Metaphorical meanings of *Byzantine* in modern English dictionaries (e.g. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, second ed. 1989) are connected with the alleged character of Byzantine politics: intricate, complicated, rigid, unyielding. Further examples of the use of *Byzantine* also repeatedly imply meanings such as complicated, obscure, outdated, rigid, belaboured, overrefined. More specifically, *Byzantinism* refers to a style in art which is characterized by formalism, academism and rigidity.

German dictionaries equally do not mention any figurative meanings of *byzantinisch* and *Byzantinismus* until the twentieth-century editions, but their examples date from the latter half of the nineteenth century (Duden 1989; *Wörterbuch* 1970; Grimm 1860). Pejorative connotations of these words do not appear in Goethe (see *Goethe Wörterbuch* 1989). But as early as 1886, the Swiss historian Burckhardt was able to present a whole catalogue of unfavourable meanings: "(...) byzantinisch heisst: im Staatsleben: Despotismus mit lauter Thronrevolu-

tionen, Druck und Erpressung, Knechtsinn; in der Kirche: unauslöslicher dogmatischer Zank und daneben bodenlosen Aberglaube; (...) in der Kunst: Knechtische Wiederholung." (Burckhardt 1918, 343). Burckhardt probably partly derived these qualifications from a number of foreign publications. German dictionaries, for their part, generally record more limited connotations. The most commonly mentioned meaning of *byzantinisch* is: *schmeichlerisch, kriecherisch*, exaggerated servility towards highplaced persons and authorities. And furthermore: conservatism, connivance, spiritual despotism. In the German language, the connotations are restricted to the domain of political life, and are derived from earlier representations of Byzantine political culture. This indicates a certain similarity with the English language, although the German definition lays the emphasis on one particular aspect, namely slavishness.

The difference with French usage is much more significant. French reference works do not record *byzantin(e)* or *byzantinisme* until the nineteenth century (no entry in Huguet 1932, nor in *Encyclopédie* 1751). But from the nineteenth century on, the French language associates *byzantinisme* with quibbling, with "préoccupations futiles, pensées ou disputes vides, subtiles, sophistiquées, tandis que des intérêts de premier ordre sont en jeu", drawing on the eighteenth-century conception of the Byzantines continuing to lose themselves in theological dispute while the Turks already stood before the gates of Constantinople (Larousse 1866; cf. also *Trésor* 1971). Only Littré (1880) adds "moral depravity" and the notion of a "civilization in decline". In French usage, Byzantinism is mainly an unfavourable intellectual phenomenon: irresponsible intellectualism which could develop into a national hazard.

The Italian language, like French, also connects *bizantineria*, *bizantinismo*, *bizantino* and *bizantineggiare* with the idea of sophistry, priggery, word-catching, subtle but futile debate. Furthermore, Byzantinism stands for bureaucratic complexity and excessive ceremony. Besides that, Italian is the only language mentioned here in which *byzantinismo* is associated with *estetismo decadente* (*Dizionario* 1951 and *Dizionario* 1961).

In Dutch, *byzantijns* and *byzantinisme* in their metaphorical sense only appear in twentieth-century dictionary editions, although the Byzantines already had a bad image in the early nineteenth century. By 1885, *byzantijnsch* ranked as an accepted epithet for rigidity, laboriousness, formalism, casuistry and cruelty (Pierson 1919). Since the meanings of these words were largely derived from foreign publications, the Dutch language offers a combination of the French and German traditions: *byzantinisme* stands for fruitless casuistry, quibbling over words, sophistication, as well as for obsequiousness and sycophancy (*Woordenboek* 1902 and *Van Dale* 1984). Furthermore, it bears associations with bureaucracy, lack of character, and the entanglement of the interests of church and state.

This brief lexical survey suggests two conclusions. Although derivative meanings of *Byzantine* and *Byzantinism* are not acknowledged in reference works until late in or after the nineteenth century, they appear to have been commonly accepted during the nineteenth century, and based on an image already established in eighteenth-century historiography (by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Lebeau,

and Gibbon). And although these connotations are all pejorative, there are notable differences between languages. With some slight exaggeration it might be said that the English language associates *Byzantinism* with fruitless intricacy, obscurity, or formalism; French, with futile sophistication, inopportune casuistry, and intellectualism. Italian does much the same, but also includes decadent aestheticism. The German language stresses the notion of servility and despotism, while the Dutch language connects this concept with both sophistry and slavishness.

Finding an explanation for these differences is not easy, since these derivative meanings probably all stem from the same body of historical works. Undoubtedly national differences in social and political traditions have influenced the development of divergent connotations. In major cultures, language-creating intellectuals tend to conform to specific national circum-stances, problems, and conventions. Therefore, the qualifying expressions they use gradually find different fields of application in each respective country. In a minor cultural province such as the Netherlands, the usage patterns itself on foreign denotations. The Italian association with *estetismo decadente* probably stems from the famous study by Mario Praz (1930, see Praz 1979), which we shall encounter later in this essay.

We all know that these representations and connotations are both unjust and unfair. Yet, for a century the serious students of Byzantium have fought these chimaeras. Byzantinology has made enormous progress in knowledge and insight, but still specialists feel obliged to open their books with apologetical introductions and refutations of popular fallacies (e.g. Cameron 1990). It seems that Byzantium is the victim of a persistent misrepresentation. The disdainful witticisms of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Gibbon, and Hegel, however, are more often quoted than seriously discussed. It might therefore be more interesting to examine just how and why these writers arrived at their conceptions and judgments. The history of historical thought and historical interpretation is itself part of cultural history. What was the nature of eighteenth and nineteenth-century history and what were its intentions in its treatment of the Byzantine period?

In the eighteenth century, there were various ways of dealing with the past (see Haddock 1980; Blaas 1988; Porter 1988; Löwith 1949). There was narrative history in the humanist-literary tradition, which, however, lacked thoroughness and critical judgment. History as sacred drama, based on the christian-biblical scheme, had gradually become obsolete. There also was the industrious and often learned antiquarianism, which made itself useful through source-criticism, the improvement of methods, historical topography, archeology and the like. Its only aspiration was the safe advancement of historical knowledge. Antiquarianism also provided material for all kinds of more or less significant controversies about legal questions, political claims, the authority of the biblical representation of history, and the excellence of classical antiquity. All these critical inquiries and controversies, however, did not add up to a descriptive, interpretative and readable history. The genre of "philosophical history" tried to meet the need for such a history. This genre, either in its more speculative aspect (*philosophy of history*) or its more historical form (*philosophical history*), did not aim at a

reconstruction of historical minutiae but rather at an evaluative reflection on essentials. Lawyers and political theorists, philosophers and men of letters were going through the available historical material in search of arguments and illustrations for their theories and convictions on the foundation of rule and law, the best form of government, the historical authority of the Bible, the status of Christianity, the significance of classical antiquity, or the progress of humanity. These reflexions could be focused on just one aspect of the past as well as on the whole of world history: in the eighteenth century, knowledge began to expand, encompassing populations and civilizations outside the old Christian world. For the first time, it became possible to compare not only historical periods, but also civilizations and forms of government and religion. As a result, different types of society could be classified, and the grounds were laid for a secularized representation of history, which could oust the old biblical and theological historical interpretation.

Although many of the authors of the Enlightenment actually did not have a very high opinion of humanity, the idea of reasonable human nature and of the progress of reason was the standard by which they measured history. This progressionist idea was not solely a sign of naïvety or complacency. For the philosophers of the day, it was an instrument which could bring structure, relevance and meaning to historical multiformity and change. As a consequence, each period, each system and each civilization could be assigned a significance. The philosophical historians could not imagine any other than a normative and generalizing method. They traced diachronic processes and searched for types, and compared the principles of civilizations, unrestrained by the bounds of historical periodization.

The genre of philosophical history moved between extremes. Some works are hardly more than speculative schemes, detached from the historical material, which only occasionally serves as illustration. On the other hand there are works, like Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which are elaborately narrative, richly ornamented and well-documented, even though, as a whole, they are governed by only a few basic ideas and first principles. Generally speaking, philosophical history frowned on antiquarianism, and therefore mostly used inadequate, limited and one-sided source material. It was no longer concerned about the accumulation of facts and sources. It did not mean to pay homage to periods of the past. Bringing clarity and order to history, pointing out what is relevant, typical and instructive, influencing legislation and politics, warning against wrong tendencies — all these pursuits demanded an effective selection and presentation of historical material. Once Gibbon had reached the mid-point of his narration, he did not want to bother his readers with a detailed account of another eight centuries of decline. For "a minute accumulation of circumstances must destroy the light and effect of those general pictures which compose the use and ornament of a remote history" (Gibbon 1957, V, 72).

In eighteenth-century philosophical history — I shall base myself on works by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Schlözer, Gibbon, Herder, and Condorcet — a number of implicit convictions invariably determined the way Byzantium was interpreted. The progress of reason, defined as the growth of knowledge, technical ability, and

independent thought, had become the standard for the history of mankind. Civilizations dominated by religious orthodoxy and dogma therefore could not expect to meet with approval. In the second place, the form of government and the active citizenry of republican Rome, and sometimes also the period of the first emperors, were considered as *political* ideals. At the same time, Greek antiquity became a *cultural* ideal. Byzantium, as the heir of both Rome and Greece, was judged according to its remoteness from these ideals.

In the third place, the point of view adopted in reflections on the Byzantine period was predominantly finalist: Byzantine history inevitably lead up to the year 1453. Historians could only envisage it as slowly decaying, as the decline of the glory of Greece and Rome. Byzantium became the victim of a peculiarity which is a hidden aspect of many histories of civilization. By assuming a 'beginning' and a final point, historians create a 'Byzantium' that is a meaningful historical unity, or, in other words, an essentially continuous historical narrative. At the same time, however, a fixed perspective is laid down from which those historians' writings can only lead towards the inevitable downfall. With the creation of 'Byzantium' as a historical unity, the interpretation has been determined in advance. "Five centuries of the decline and fall of the empire have already elapsed; but a period of more than eight hundred years still separates me from the term of my labours, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks", Gibbon complains half-way through his narration (1957, V, 72). A.L. Schlözer expressed just as little reservation in his *Vorstellung der Universal-Historie*: "Ueber tausend Jare arbeitete dieses elende Pfaffen-Reich an seinem Untergange" (Schlözer 1775, 147).

Another peculiarity connected with the creation of historical unities — a nation, an empire, a civilization — is the assumption that these writers possess certain characteristic principles (of government, religion, style of art and life). The less the historian is able to trace these — assumed — life principles in the state, in religion or the arts, the more he is inclined to interpret this as 'decay', 'decline' or 'discontinuity'. Byzantium, too, has been a victim of such assumptions. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was often considered an empire or civilization which was either without a governing principle, or based on the wrong principle. In the former case Byzantium ranked as the worthless continuation of Greco-Roman antiquity, itself a state or civilization whose governing principle had already dwindled away. "[Man] wundert sich, dass ein Reich von dieser Art nicht viel früher gefallen sei, als es fiel", J.G. Herder remarked in 1787. From the beginning, Byzantium, which had been founded on the rich remains of Rome and Greece, had been a "glänzend-üppige(r) Bettlerstaat" (Herder 1909, 327).

According to another interpretation Byzantium was doomed from the start, on account of an immanent but erroneous principle. This principle was Christianity as a state religion. The historians of the Enlightenment were not wholly ill-disposed towards Christianity, but they considered the Christian ideal of self-renunciation, as well as the entanglement of religious and secular interests, as a disaster for the state. Likewise, spiritual despotism was disastrous for culture. "Le christianisme ouvrait le ciel, mais il perdait l'empire", that was how Voltaire summed up the decline of the Roman Empire (1756, see Voltaire 1963, I, 304). Montesquieu, too, pointed to the mutual corruption of church and state as the

fundamental weakness of the Greek Empire (1734). The need for a clear separation of church and state "est fondée, non seulement sur la religion, mais encore sur la raison et la nature" (Montesquieu 1951, II, 203). Gibbon's verdict was in no way different, and neither was that of the otherwise mild Herder: "Ein Römisch-Christlicher Bastard entsprang, von welchem manche wünschen, dass er nie entstanden wäre" (Herder 1909, 202). Both state and church stood only to lose from this close connection. Condorcet (1793) did not believe that Christianity, in itself, could be a positive factor in the progress of Reason. An empire in which religion occupied the throne would hold Reason in chains, and therefore was doomed to irreparable decline (Condorcet 1933, 83-99). In the eighteenth century, the general opinion was that Christianity had weakened the old Roman public spirit and patriotism, and that the involvement of the emperors in theological squabbles had undermined the power, the unity and the resistance of the state.

However, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Gibbon, Schlözer and Herder could not create a meaningful and coherent narration out of the vicissitudes of Byzantium, perhaps also because they were restricted by the limitations of their sources. They only found a motley succession of changes of power, schisms and heresies, theological squabbles, atrocities and follies, which together were partly the cause, partly an illustration, and partly the consequence of the ongoing disintegration of the empire. One wonders what made these writers take an interest in this "revolting" episode (Voltaire), this "tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery" (Gibbon). Basically, 'Byzantium' had three functions. In the first place, the empire provided an *exemplary warning* against the effects of state Christianity: "So hat das erste und prächtigste Staatschristenthum geendet; nie komme seine Erscheinung wieder" (Herder 1909, 330). In the second place, 'Byzantium' became the *model* of an empire or civilization in splendid but irreversible decline, and more particularly of the half barbaric, half overcivilized, 'oriental' despotic state. If a comparison was made, Babylon and China came to mind, rather than the Ottoman Empire, which still benefited from a relative amount of sympathy. 'Byzantium' developed into the exact opposite of ancient Greece, which, during the eighteenth century, had become the classic example of a youthful, strong and pure civilization (Constantine 1984). Byzantium did not profit from the fashion of Orientalism, and subsequently became the victim of the new classicistic vogue.

The third meaning given to Byzantium in eighteenth-century historiography was an instrumental one. Embarrassed by this unavoidable episode in their historical narrative or historical scheme, the philosophers of history hoped to find the significance of Byzantium in the fact that its decline had given rise to new nations and states: "the fate of the Byzantine monarchy is *passively* connected with the most splendid and important revolutions which have changed the state of the world" — this was how Gibbon justified his ongoing involvement with the wretched Greeks (Gibbon 1957, V, 74). Schlözer did include Byzantium among the 'Hauptvölker' in his world-historical scheme, but, within that category, not under the "herrschende, erobernde Völker, die durch Schwerdt und Muskeln und Verstand die Gesetzgeber ganzer Jahrhunderte geworden", but under the "bloss wichtige Völker (...) deren Begebenheiten (...) Erkenntnisquellen von den

Revolutionen der übrigen oder späteren Welt geworden sind" (Schlözer 1775, 299-300).

Grecomania, which became fashionable in Enlightened Europe after 1750, embraced classical antiquity as well as the contemporary Greeks, but ignored the Byzantine period. Greek antiquity became accepted as an ideal of life and art and of a civilization combining youthful vigour with natural simplicity. By stepping across the ages idealizing travellers and writers with a disposition towards nostalgia and cultural criticism were able to depict the contemporary Greeks as a noble, primitive people living in Arcadia, both in customs and character the true descendants of Homeric and Pericleian Greece. In the imagination of the West European critics of contemporary over-civilization, both the ancient and the modern Greeks served as a shining example (Constantine, 1984, 152-6).

The progressive, rational, anticlerical tradition within the Enlightenment was less favourably disposed towards the modern Greeks, at least insofar as they appeared to be the heirs of Byzantium: a people deeply corrupted by religious obscurantism and by the neglect of their classical heritage. These verdicts were corroborated by the disappointing experiences the philhellenes had with the Greeks in the periods surrounding the years 1770 and 1820. The philhellenes more or less optimistically hoped for a revival of the Greek nation, by which they meant Hellas, not Byzantium (Constantine 1984, *passim*; Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 16-88; Mango 1984, 29-43). Typical for the high-handed philhellenism of those days was Voltaire's opinion, given in a letter to the Russian empress Catharine II (July 13, 1770). The "pauvres Grecs", once liberated from Turkish slavery, could receive no greater favour than the restitution of "leur Jupiter, leur Mars, leur Vénus; ils n'ont eu de la réputation que sous ces dieux-là" (Voltaire 1986). Even the romantic philhellenes of the 1820s, though they were in part moved by their compassion for the Greeks as an oppressed Christian nation, gave their support to the heirs of Hellas, not to the descendants of Byzantium. Neither the Catholics nor the Protestants could conjure up much sympathy for Byzantine Christianity.

A 'Byzantine identity' was only cultivated under Ottoman rule, within the circle of the Phanariots and the Oecumenical Patriarchate, and in a free Greece during the nineteenth century (Mango 1984, 41-66, and Papadopoulos 1973, 122-58). Nineteenth-century Greek national consciousness still had strong ties with the Byzantine, Christian past, in spite of all the official and superficial imported classicism. This was expressed in the *Megáli Idéa*, the ambition to restore a Greek Byzantium by reconquering Constantinople and Asia Minor (Mango 1984, 40-1; Clogg 1980, 76-9; Fletcher 1977, 153-72). On another level, continuity was suggested in the work of such authors as the philhellene Finlay (1877) and the Greek historian Paparrigopoulos (1878), who attempted to harmonize Greek history through the postulation of a 'Hellenic Spirit', which had manifested itself in a slightly altered form in each consecutive period (on both authors, see Mango 1984, 41, Vasiliev 1970, I, 13-8 and Fletcher 1977, 165-6).

In the nineteenth century 'Byzantium' became either a theme or a subject in various historical and literary traditions, which gradually drifted apart. From the

1830s on, a serious scholarly study of the Byzantine period developed as part of the general professionalization of historical studies. By the end of the nineteenth century, Byzantinology had established itself as a professional study (Mazal 1989; Moravcsik 1976; Vasiliev 1970, ch. 1). Yet, despite this, other respected historians not specializing in Byzantium, as well as authors of world histories, popular historians, philosophers of history, cultural theorists, and men of letters, also concerned themselves with Byzantium. The genre of either metaphysically or ideologically inspired historical philosophy had gradually retreated into the background, but never totally disappeared. Historicism and positivism, however much they advocated objectivity and empiricism, were not designed to be tediously antiquarian, and still searched for the great 'ideas', 'tendencies', and 'patterns' in history. Nineteenth-century history was far better documented than its eighteenth-century counterpart, but it was often equally tainted by all sorts of presuppositions, although not so blatantly. This non-specialized history of Byzantium is what we shall deal with from here on.

Nineteenth-century authors did not stress the same things as their eighteenth-century predecessors in their treatments of Byzantium. In the first place, greater emphasis was laid upon the idea that a civilization should have a characteristic 'spirit' or principle. This thought was already predominant in Herder, but in the nineteenth century it became the key to the explanation of the Byzantine fiasco. Nineteenth-century history and cultural theory applied a sharp distinction between the presence of *inner soul* as a prerequisite for autonomous vitality, and mere *external existence*, as a sign of the extinction of a nation, empire, or civilization. Secondly, there was a shift in the attention paid to Byzantine Christianity. In the eighteenth century, religion and the church were examined in relation to the state and the values of Antiquity, and were deemed to be a corrupting element. The sympathies of the nineteenth-century authors, however, seemed to lie no less with Christian religion than with Antiquity and the state. In fact, they established that the worldly powers of the church had been detrimental to the purity of religion, and that the Byzantines had never grasped the true spirit of Christianity. That is why Christianity in Byzantium never became what these authors, in the true spirit of the nineteenth century, thought it should be: an inner, individual emotion or persuasion, and a moral force. Byzantine Christianity did not uphold devotion or morality; it was mere theology, dogma and ceremony.

The influential philosopher Hegel discussed Byzantium within the framework of the rise of Christianity as a new phase in world history; this was characterized by a higher moral conscience, internalization, and liberation from earlier spiritual limitations. Greco-Roman civilization, he thought, was not suited to bring this new Christian ideal into the world. This task was intended for the Germanic peoples. The Byzantine empire was destined to play a role in the withdrawal of the Greco-Roman principle from world history. In the Orient, Christianity had been implanted on an already full-grown civilization and therefore could not possibly become a creative force or a principle of civilization. According to Hegel, Byzantium was a pitiful example of the way religion, in a highly civilized empire, could be a lifeless form instead of the life breath of culture. From a philosophical point of view, Byzantium had not made any positive contribution to

world history. After briefly discussing this "tausendjährige Reihe von fortwährenden Verbrechen, Schwächen, Niederträchtigkeiten und Charakterlosigkeit", Hegel was relieved to be able to turn to the new Occidental nations: "Der Germanische Geist ist der Geist der neuen Welt (...)." Only here could Christianity permeate and mould a new civilization (Hegel 1980, 461-8, esp. 467-8).

This view was presented much more elaborately by F.C.Schlosser, the history-teacher of the German middle classes, in his voluminous moral-pedagogical world history (1861-62). It was Schlosser's opinion that, since history is the story of progress and innovation, Byzantium could never be treated as an autonomous subject: "even the great Thucydides would founder on Chinese, Turkish and Byzantine history." Yet the episode did have its importance "with regard to the coming Middle Ages" (Schlosser 1861-62, I, xxxiv). Though this is reminiscent of Gibbon and Schlözer, the emphasis, in the nineteenth century, lay elsewhere. The eighteenth century understood Byzantium as a medieval and Christian alienation from classical antiquity. Now Byzantium became associated with the vapid preservation of 'waning Antiquity'. A new element in world history had been discovered, the "vigorous and contemplative Middle Ages" (Schlosser 1861-62, I, xxxiv). Byzantium, aged heir of antique culture, planted on the ruins of the Roman Empire, degenerated into a withered stem from which no new life could spring. Its Christianity was learned, but lacked a heart, it was nothing but "a superficial service, where God was ostentatiously worshipped like some Oriental despot". Its government and its imperial court were "totally Oriental", which meant: rigid, hierarchic, ceremonial, despotic, and morally depraved (Schlosser 1861-62, IV, 300-8).

A curious culminating point in the way the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries dealt with the theme of 'Byzantium' is the *History of European Morals* by the English scholar W.E.H. Lecky (1877). In its method and its judgments this work still seems to belong to the Age of Enlightenment. Contrary to the usual nineteenth-century representations, Lecky thought that, through the agency of Constantine the Great, Christianity had been brought into an ideal position to mould a new society. He considered the miserable failure of this experiment in pure ecclesiastical civilisation as a conclusive refutation of the possibility of the Church ever regenerating society. Otherwise, his work expressed the usual commonplaces: Byzantium was presented as an outstanding example of the Oriental despotic state, and as a degenerate, aging civilization to which neither tradition — the heritage of Hellas, which had been so beneficial to Europe — nor Christianity could bring new life or greatness (Lecky 1877, II, 13-7, 265).

A much milder, more independent and balanced approach was adopted by scholars like Ranke (1883), Burckhardt (1868-71, see Burckhardt 1978), and the Dutchman Pierson (1885-6, see Pierson 1919, 59-94). The last two rejected the unreasonable condemnation of Byzantium and were in fact amazed at the empire's evident powers of resistance and assimilation. Pierson even discovered elements of liberalism and democracy in its unofficial "people's parliament" at the Hippodrome, he admired its unifying bureaucracy, and defended the virtue of Theodora against the play by the French author V.Sardou (1884) which depicted her as a "common wench". Yet neither Pierson nor Burckhardt could find much

true religious feeling and morality in Byzantine Christianity. Like Hegel, Pierson thought that Christianity could never flourish on the soil of an already fullgrown Hellenic-Asiatic culture (Burckhardt 1978, 112-3, 138-9; Burckhardt 1918, 343; Pierson 1919, 61-8, 77-9, 82-3).

By that time, 'Byzantium' had manifestly become an idea with a life of its own, unchecked by learning or any form of verification. It appeared as a theme in late nineteenth-century literature and as a cliché in the surveys of cultural critics. Although this image had probably been distilled from eighteenth-century historiography and from later popularizations, it was also the result of projections of alleged contemporary symptoms of decay onto earlier periods. In nineteenth-century France and England, a sustained pessimistic mood, which may or may not have been justified by social and cultural reality, existed alongside the proverbial bourgeois complacency and belief in progress (Swart 1964; Buckley 1966; Houghton 1957). In fact there was widespread discomfort among bourgeois intellectuals about modern materialism and the loss of treasured values, unwavering religion, community spirit, and cultural and social edification. Technology, democracy, and imperialism were often appraised with mixed feelings. And just as it employed past architectural styles for its public buildings to express modern political and cultural ideals, the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie would, when in a pessimistic mood, detect similarities with 'typical' periods of decay, such as late imperial Rome, the Hellenistic twilight of Greek antiquity, Byzantium, or the waning Middle Ages (Swart 1964, 164, 231; Jenkins 1980, 293-7).

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, such symbols of decay were, for the first time, favourably judged. The 'decadent' movement in *fin de siècle* literature and art was in itself a form of cultural criticism, namely a reaction to the mindless materialism, utilitarianism, and smugness of the bourgeoisie, as well as to the levelling and proletarianizing of society. Dissatisfaction with middle-class aesthetics and lifestyle, nostalgia for more aristocratic days, and the acceptance of life in a putative 'late' civilization, were combined into a new aesthetics which hailed and even cultivated the beauty and splendour of decay (Buckley 1966, 89-93; Gilman 1979; Ruppert-Steen 1985; Goedegebuure 1987). Within this cultural movement, 'Byzantium' all of a sudden took on a golden sheen, and became the alluring symbol of majestic, terrifying and magnificent decay, of violent splendour and extravagant artificiality. It was the Italian literary historian Mario Praz (1930, see Praz 1979, 303-434, esp. 397) who summed up the whole decadent movement in the word 'Byzantium': "The period of antiquity with which these artists of the *fin de siècle* liked best to compare their own was the long Byzantine twilight, that gloomy apse gleaming with dull gold and gory purple, from which peer enigmatic faces, barbaric yet refined, with dilated neurasthenic pupils." In this quotation, all the imagery of the eighteenth and nineteenth century is recapitulated and stylized into a pastiche of a Byzantine mosaic.

In his reflections, the German philosopher of history Oswald Spengler achieved the ultimate condensation of another tradition in Byzantine imagery: Byzantium as the model of 'Zivilisation', the final point and the antithesis of

'Kultur'. Spengler's opinions on certain aspects of the Byzantine state or civilization were not altogether negative. And yet, unintentionally demonstrating the autonomous power of the image, he used *Byzantinismus* as a characterization of the final phase, the terminal rigidity and vapid aftermath of a culture: "Ist das Ziel erreicht und die Idee, die ganze Fülle innerer Möglichkeiten vollendet und nach aussen hin verwirklicht, so *erstarrt* die Kultur plötzlich, sie stirbt ab, ihr Blut gerinnt, ihre Kräfte brechen — sie wird zur *Zivilisation*. Das ist es, was wir bei den Worten Ägyptizismus, Byzantinismus, Mandarinentum fühlen und verstehen" (Spengler 1988, 143, 70 [Tafel III]).

Finally, 'Byzantium' could also act as a type within another opposition. On the one hand, its culture was representative of certain qualities which were condemned by conservative social critics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because they were part of *modern* culture and society: cosmopolitanism, the domination of the metropolis, bureaucratic centralization, luxury, or intellectualism (Spengler 1988, *passim*; Adams 1896; Swart 1964, 205). On the other hand, Byzantium was identified with Russia and became the outstanding model of 'the East' as opposed to Western civilization. The Slavophiles of the nineteenth century declared Russia the true heir of Byzantium (Vasiliev 1970, I, 32-3). This view was also held in the West, but only to dismiss heir and legator alike, for being 'strange' and 'the other' (Anderson 1951, 74). In a mainly sympathetic, though a very curious manner, this theme has been elaborated by the widely read Austrian author Egon Friedell, who, in his *Kulturgeschichte* (1927-31, see Friedell 1979), typifies Dostoyevsky as "der letzte Byzantiner". In it he accomplishes the ultimate stylization and autonomy of 'Byzantium' as an idea. Dostoyevsky is a saint and a criminal, an epileptic, a medium, a paradoxical synthesis of cerebrality and pathological hypersensitivity, a man of a thousand contradictions. But all these paradoxes seem to blend into the expression "der letzte grosse Byzantiner" — "die jüngste Form, in der der Geist Ostroms Fleisch geworden ist, jenes ewiges Ostrom, das wir nicht zu verstehen, bestenfalls zu errahnen vermögen. (...) Seine Kunst ist komplex, spät, gespenstisch, katakombisch und erinnert auch in der Form wiederum an Byzanz: in ihrer düster glühenden Mosaikpracht (...): seine Figuren stehen geheimnisvoll im Leeren, und statt sich der Betrachtung anzubieten, verfolgen sie vielmehr ihrerseits mit quälendem Forscherblick den Betrachter" (Friedell 1979, 1341-2). Like Praz, this author presented an image of Byzantium using the formal and stylistic qualities of Byzantine art, and once again the image has become pastiche.

The popular representations of Byzantium have themselves become icons: increasingly stylized copies of a putative reality which has receded into the distance. But does this detract from the value of icons? Let us not behave like iconoclasts.

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CLASSICAL GREECE, BYZANTIUM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE GREEK NATIONAL IDENTITY

Gera Bel

Introduction

During the 160 years in which the Greek state has existed, the Greeks have continually experienced difficulties with their national identity. This is a matter with which many Greeks are still preoccupied. As recently as 1983 the Greek historian Vakalopoulos published a study on the character of the Greeks, with the subtitle "Tracing our National Identity". In this work he enumerates all the good and bad characteristics of the Greeks. He traces all the good characteristics to Ancient Greece and all the bad ones to the Roman/Byzantine and Turkish periods.

The terms 'identity', 'identity-crisis' and 'identity-confusion' are psychological concepts which were for the first time used for clinical purposes during the Second World War, namely for soldiers who because of their wartime experiences had lost their sense of being the same person, their feeling of historical continuity.

In the following study of the identity development of the modern Greeks I base my arguments on the views of E. Erikson, who sees the identity of an individual and the identity of a group as inseparable. So, when Greek historians, politicians and writers refer to the identity of the Greek people, they are not discussing a merely academic subject, but they are wrestling with a highly personal problem. This is because the identity of an individual is formed by a continuous process of simultaneous self-reflection and observation of the environment. This is a process of continuous change and development which begins with birth and the relationship between mother and child and goes on to include an increasingly wider circle of others. This is why no separation can be made between personal growth and changes in the community, between crises in the life of individuals and simultaneous crises in the history of a certain area.

In what follows, I shall give a review of the development of the Greek identity and of the continuing interaction between Western Europe and the forming of the Greek identity. The key to understanding this development lies in a closer contemplation of Hellenism and of philhellenism.

The Hellenists

Different people at different times have projected various qualities onto Greek Antiquity. Western intellectuals throughout the ages have always found in Greek Antiquity the elements which fitted the tastes and ideals of their own times.

During the Renaissance, interest in Classical philosophy and literature increased in the West. Especially in Italy this interest gained an additional impetus from the arrival of Byzantine refugees after the fall of Constantinople (1453). The Humanists (fifteenth-sixteenth century) studied Greek and Latin texts and provided through their translations many themes and genres for the writers of their own times. Greece came to stand for an intellectual concept, a rational idea, namely that man has the possibility to regulate and perfect his life on earth. Classical Antiquity became a source of inspiration for a revision of medieval theocratic thinking.

In the seventeenth century Greek Antiquity was still regarded as a part of Greco-Roman Antiquity and the exceptional Westerner who travelled to the Levant chose Constantinople as his goal instead of Athens. However, in the middle of the eighteenth century a polemic broke out about the superiority of Greek art and architecture as against those of the Romans. Roman art found defenders among Italian art historians; Greek art especially among French and German art historians. This struggle was finally decided in favour of Greek art.

In this struggle the amateur art historian Ann Claude Philippe de Tubière, Comte de Caylus, played an important role. In 1711 Caylus undertook a journey to the Levant and began his researches into Greek art. Towards the end of his life he published his life's work in seven volumes, forming a collection of Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek and Roman antiquities (Caylus 1761). In this work he unfolds his theory that with the *translatio imperii* Mediterranean cultures at the end of a long development reached a climax in the 'simplicity and elegance' of Greek culture. Caylus kept in close contact with Parisian art-circles and by his vision of 'la plus noble élégance' of Greek art he had a great influence on the post-1750 outbreak of 'grecomania' in Rome and in Paris.

In Germany similar views were voiced by Johann Jacob Winckelmann in 1755. Just like Caylus, Winckelmann repudiated Baroque art. He, too, was an admirer of 'edle Einfalt und stille Grösse'. He posed the next thesis: "Der einzige Weg für uns gross, ja wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten" (Winckelmann 1755, quoted in Miller 1983, 323). Winckelmann also adhered to the theory of the Golden Age. In his view Greek art had attained perfection during the flowering of the Athenian polis, because the conditions necessary for the perfection of art were present there, namely ethical and constitutional freedom. Perfect beauty can only exist when men have

reached ethical perfection (καλοκαγαθία). With the loss of their freedom the Greeks also lost their sense of 'Beauty'. The feeling for proportion came to an end and art became ornamental, ostentatious and pluralistic at the cost of the original 'edle Einfalt und stille Grösse'. The Romans had destroyed Greek freedom definitively, but subjected themselves to the perfection of Greek art. As long as Rome remained a Republic, Greek culture could affect the Roman empire, but under Imperial Rome this culture was absolutely lost and there came a time of degeneration into monstrosity, ugliness and 'Unernste'.

In the controversy of Greek versus Roman art the architect Julien David Le Roy, a friend and colleague of Caylus, had a marked influence. Le Roy studied in Rome from 1750 at the French academy. In 1758 he published his *Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*. This work was the result of a short journey to Greece in 1754 during which he made sketches of Classical ruins which he retouched according to his own taste. He lectured for forty years at the Académie d'Architecture under the inspiration of Greek architecture.

Rome and Paris, but especially the latter, became gripped by 'grecomania'. In the Parisian salons it was especially the hedonistic side of the Greek style that became immensely popular. Interiors were beautified with nymphs, Aphrodites and Cupids. The mother of the poet André Chenier gives us the most famous example. After her trip to Constantinople she furnished her salon in the Greek style, dressed in Greek national costume, sang Greek folksongs and in this way gained the nickname 'la belle grecque'. The group of fashionable admirers which surrounded her called itself 'Société des Philhellènes'. Mme Chenier was one of the first to introduce philhellenism in Parisian circles.

For scientists and philosophers at the end of the eighteenth century Greece became above all a source of arguments for freedom and rationalism. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) rejected the mannerism of the salons, but he found something else in the Ancients, namely a guide for ethical behaviour. Plutarch especially influenced his social ideas. For Rousseau's theory that civilisation and erudition can lead to decadence, he found a proof in the fate of Classical Athens. He regarded Athens as an overcivilized, luxurious and decadent city and felt more attracted to the sobriety and robustness of Sparta.

This view had an impact on the French revolutionaries who resisted the corruption of the Ancien Régime. They felt drawn towards the republican models of Greek Antiquity and most of all towards Sparta. Youth was supposed to deliver society from mental degeneration and therefore had to be educated in the new moral values through the so-called 'maisons d'éducation' under the supervision of the State. After 1790 public festivals were organized, based on the Classical festivals in the name of freedom, equality and fraternity. These festivals were styled with classicizing decors. At these occasions the declaration of human rights was proclaimed, patriotic songs were sung and gymnastic and military exercises were performed. Many revolutionaries changed their Christian names for Classical names to distance themselves from the aristocracy, from monarchism and from Catholicism.

In 1788 Jean Jacques Barthélemy published a narrative in seven volumes with the title: *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*, which became important for

the image of Classical Greece. This fictional travel account was translated into many European languages and was a resounding success. The main character, the Scythian Anacharsis, makes a journey through Greece and Asia Minor in the years 363-337 B.C. and meets all the great men from Pericles to Philip of Macedon. The first thing that strikes the reader is the enormous erudition of Barthélemy. Every remark is supported by a footnote. The bibliography in volume VII includes 460 titles in which there are many collective works. Barthélemy had never been to Greece and yet he manages to give precise descriptions of the Greek landscape and of its clear light. With Barthélemy also the ideals of his own time are reflected, for example the idea, derived from Rousseau, of the morally corrupting effect of civilization. The image of a frivolous and decadent Athens contrasted with a simple, but virtuous Sparta is typical of late eighteenth-century France. In 1789 Barthélemy was elected to the Académie Française for his glorification of republican principles.

The philhellenic movement

It was with the image of an heroic, cheerful, elegant Greece of art and literature, freedom and philosophy that from 1750 travellers set out to discover the country for themselves. The reality of contemporary Greece was often shocking to them. Some of these travellers were repulsed by their meeting with modern Greeks. For example Alexander Pusjkin, initially an enthusiastic Hellenist and a supporter of Greek emancipation, concluded from his first encounter with Greeks that they were "a nasty people of bandits and shopkeepers" (Clogg 1986, 55).

Others experienced feelings of pity and of hope for the 'resurrection' of Greece to her original greatness. From these feelings emerged philhellenism and philhellenic literature, which propagated the belief that the Greeks could restore their glorious past by tracing their Hellenic characteristics and by fighting for their independence. Eighteenth-century Western observers, furthermore, attributed the decay of Greece to the barbaric influences from the East, and although at this time interest in the exotic Orient was blossoming, they preferred not to see it in Greece. Because of their belief in democratic principles, their criticism of Ottoman rule grew. As a result of this view, the Greeks came to be seen as victims of Turkish despotism.

The people of the Enlightenment saw the Byzantine period as a dark age too. Byzantium had been a theocratic State in which the Church frustrated all enlightened thinking. The East Roman Empire had also been a breeding ground for intrigues, theological disputes and religious fanaticism. Montesquieu, who saw the separation of Church and State as an essential condition for a good constitution, considered the Turks no worse than the Byzantine emperors. He condemned Orthodoxy as schismatic and superstitious: "Une superstition grossière qui abaisse l'esprit autant que la religion l'élève, plaça toute la vertu et toute la confiance des hommes dans une ignorante stupidité pour les Images" (Montesquieu 1951, quoted in Augustinos 1976, 171-2). In his view Catholicism was superior, and there is therefore no criticism of the Crusaders in his works.

Voltaire did not like organized religion at all and he condemned the Crusaders as greedy instruments of religious fanaticism. Turkish domination, he claimed, was the result of the corruption, superstition and internal division of the Byzantines. Voltaire was one of the first advocates of the Greek Cause. In his correspondence with Catherine the Great of Russia he continually appealed to her to support the Greeks, pointing to Greek Antiquity and human rights. He considered Western intervention necessary for the liberation of the Greeks. For him political autonomy would only be possible when the Greeks should have reached a more developed stage intellectually and morally.

Through Koraïs and other enlightened Greeks Voltaire's ideas had a great influence on pre-revolutionary Greece. His name was associated with intellectual emancipation, liberalism and secularisation. The Greek Church saw these ideas as a threat to Orthodoxy and its negative response contributed to the bad reputation which Byzantium already had.

In 1807 Chateaubriand made a ten-month journey through the Levant, during which he visited famous Classical cities such as Athens, Sparta, Constantinople and Jerusalem. His journey was above all a romantic search for his own cultural roots and those of his country, France. History is, according to Chateaubriand, change and movement; Πάντα ρέει, οὐδὲν μένει ('everything is in flux, nothing is static'). The past only lives through the memory of men. His account of his journey (Chateaubriand 1946) from 1811 is a subjective one, an intellectual and artistic pilgrimage in search of the two pillars of French culture, i.e. Hellenism and Christianity.

The modern Greeks were in his eyes just as barbaric as their oppressors. He saw in them the personification of the decay of Classical culture which for him was a reason for romantic complaint: "La France perdra-t-elle ainsi sa gloire? Sera-t-elle ainsi dévastée, foulée aux pieds dans la suite des siècles?" (Chateaubriand s.a., I, 173, quoted in Augustinos 1976, 293). He had no appreciation for Byzantine art and architecture. These did not fit, according to him, in the Greek landscape, which only tolerates the symmetry and purity of Classical architecture. In France Gothic architecture is appropriate; in Greece Classical architecture. Mistras he described as: "un mélange confus du genre oriental et du style gothique, Grec et Italien: pas un pauvre ruine antique pour se consoler au milieu de tout cela." (Chateaubriand 1946, 266-7, quoted in Augustinos 1976, 300). He was shocked by the cultural mixture of Athens. Athens had become an oriental town with minarets and mosques. Constantinople he found even more disgusting, since it breathed an air of decay, corruption and slavery. He did, however, have admiration for the traces left behind by his fellow-countrymen, the French Crusaders and the merchants.

Because of Chateaubriand's restricted vision, he had no eye for the contemporary Greeks even though they were at that time intent upon their own emancipation. Chateaubriand was not a philhellene in the sense that he was interested in modern Greece. Modern Greeks only figured in his *Itinéraire* as sad shadows personifying the humiliation of Classical culture. However, in 1825 in his *Notes sur la Grèce* he made a passionate plea for support of the Greek revolution, having be-

come in the meantime a fervent supporter of the Greek Cause. This explains how he gained a reputation among the Greeks as one of the greatest philhellenes.

On the eve of the Greek Revolution of 1821 philhellenism became more passionate and hatred for the Turks became fiercer. The philhellenes of the 1820s saw the Greek Cause as a battle between good and evil, between the civilized West and the despotic East.

The most important travel account of this period is the *Voyage en Grèce* by Pouqueville, published in 1820, an account of a thirteen-year stay in Greece (1805-1818). With Pouqueville and other philhellenes of the period just before the Revolution there is a turning point in the approach to Greece. While previous philhellenes had only lamented the character of modern Greeks, Pouqueville claimed that there is a direct relationship of continuity between ancient and modern Greece, between the modern Greeks and their Classical forefathers. He criticizes those travellers who make denigrating remarks about the modern Greeks and does everything he can to refute them. He admires the national unity the Greeks had managed to keep through so many years of repression. This he attributes to their noble origins. He encourages the Greeks to fight their oppressors both in the name of their Classical ancestors and in the name of their Christian faith. This latter point was something new; Pouqueville pleaded for the Greeks as fellow Christians.

In 1826 there appeared a new version of the *Voyage en Grèce* in six volumes. In this work Pouqueville described many facets of Greece, such as history, geography, social-economic life and religious customs. He continually makes connections with ancient Greece. Because of his broad treatment and sometimes daring hypotheses, Pouqueville was occasionally criticized for imprecision. While previous philhellenes used Antiquity, or more accurately their image of Antiquity, as a criterium for their judgments of modern Greeks, Pouqueville worked the other way round, by using his observations of the present as a guide to the reconstruction of the past. This concept of continuity would later, after the Revolution, be used by the Greeks as well.

As far as the Christian Orthodox faith is concerned, Pouqueville also finds a link with ancient paganism. The worship of the saints had taken the place of the worship of the Classical gods. Christian feasts replaced Classical festivals. Mythology had found a new form in the miracle stories of the saints. Pouqueville was only interested in the faith of the Byzantines. Apart from this he could not work up much enthusiasm for Byzantium. "Il suffit de jeter un coup d'oeil sur le chaos des Byzantins pour déplorer l'état malheureux des hommes de leur âge" (Pouqueville 1826-7, VI, 137, quoted in Augustinos 1976, 410).

After 1830 the apogee of philhellenism was past. The philhellenes had been mainly writers and scientists, who, stimulated by travel accounts and by their own travels in Greece, were intent on the resurrection of Greek culture. They were inspired by their idealization of Greek Antiquity. They gave legitimacy to the creation of the Greek State and stirred the Greek national consciousness. They supported the Greeks during their struggle for freedom morally and sometimes financially, just as Byron did. With the declaration of the Greek State in 1830,

their dream became a reality. The time of romantic philhellenism was over, and Greece became an issue for politicians.

The link between the pre-1830 philhellenes and Byzantium is indirect. Their heart went out in the first place to Classical Greece and only in the second place to the contemporary Greeks. They by-passed the Byzantine Middle Ages. By touching upon the question of continuity they provoked the inevitable discussion of Byzantium. After 1830 this burst out vigorously, first again in the West because of the polemical writings of Jacob Philip Fallmerayer in *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* (1830), and ten years later in Greece itself.

Fallmerayer and his German critics

The Austrian historian J.P. Fallmerayer, who resided in Bavaria, shocked the philhellenic world, in 1830, with his theory that the Greeks in the Byzantine period had become Slavs, as a result of Slavic invasions of the sixth to ninth centuries. The Classical Greeks had been wiped away completely by the Slavs. The contemporary Greek language was Byzantine Greek, which the Byzantine administration had forced upon the then Slavic inhabitants of Greece by sending Byzantine colonists from the ninth century onwards. In 1835 Fallmerayer supplemented this with his theory of the albanianisation of Attica. He based his theories on Byzantine historical sources, topographical names, linguistic arguments and the 'character' of the inhabitants of Greece.

About the correctness and especially the incorrectness of Fallmerayer's judgments much has been written. There began a stream of anti-Fallmerianic historiography, first in Germany and a decade later in Greece. With Fallmerayer the historiography of Greece gained a political dimension, because the legitimacy of the newly founded Greek State was at stake. The fact that Fallmerayer was guided by political motives becomes clear from his later articles as a journalist for the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* for which, from 1840, he reported on the Eastern Question. He supported the *status quo* politics of the Vienna Congress of 1815 and considered the maintenance of the Ottoman empire as necessary for a healthy balance of power between East and West. The Turks, according to him, were more able to form a buffer against the advance of Pan Slavism than the small and weak Greek State which, in his view, owed its existence to the sentimentality and money of the philhellenes. During his lifetime Fallmerayer opposed the philhellenes and in increasingly fierce tones. In 1855 during the Crimean War (1853-1856) he submitted an article to his newspaper which the editors refused to publish. In this article he stated that the sole fact that the inhabitants of Attica did not speak Greek but Albanian, was sufficient reason for the Great Powers to choose the Turkish side in the Greek-Turkish conflict.

Fallmerayer was a man of contradictions; these, however, become somewhat understandable if we view them from his German nationalistic attitude in combination with his great fear of the Slavic threat. On the one hand he had made himself unpopular with the Bavarian court by his theories about Greece. King Ludwig was an enthusiastic philhellene and this is why Fallmerayer's publications

cost the author his post at the University of Bavaria. Besides this he became a member of the Parliament of Frankfurt in 1841 as an adherent of the policy of the central administration and the unification of Germany. On the other hand, he opposed Greek unification, while applauding the installation of the Bavarian Otto, son of Ludwig, as the Greek King. In his publication of 1835, containing his theories on the slavification and albanianisation of Greece, he flattered King Otto: "Divine Providence has chosen King Otto I as the bearer of the blessings of European spiritual superiority" (Fallmerayer 1984, 129).

German philhellenes reacted immediately. A counter-offensive against Fallmerayer arose, first in reviews and newspaper articles, and then developed into a series of anti-Fallmerianic works of history, the basic theme of which was the proof of the continuity in Greek history. For this purpose closer research was necessary into Greek history, and especially into the Byzantine period. So the anti-Fallmerianic historiography became the basis for the institution of Byzantine studies in Europe, first in Bavaria where Karl Krumbacher in 1892 established *Byzantinistik* as a discipline at the University of Munich.

The first systematic repudiation of Fallmerayer's theories came in 1832, from the German Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen in his *Geschichte Griechenlands*. Independently of Fallmerayer, Zinkeisen had already conceptualised the historiography of the 3000-year historical continuity of Greece, but in the last phase of his labours Fallmerayer's publications came into his hands. This is why he changed the structure of his work. He included Fallmerayer's results in his own research and rejected his views on all fronts. This he did on the basis of a careful historical and philological research into the sources. He based his theory of continuity on data from travellers' accounts of Greek folklore; in his criticism, he only discussed Fallmerayer's cultural and historical criteria, not his biological criteria. Zinkeisen has been very influential in Greece, because Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, in 1843, based his work to an important degree on that of Zinkeisen.

The Greek reaction

According to Erikson every identity, whether of an individual or of a group, consists of a hierarchy of positive and negative elements. This hierarchy is formed from the experiences of childhood, from which one learns good and bad prototypes. An unconscious process thus begins, in which the positive characteristics of identity are always in conflict with the negative characteristics. The unconscious 'negative identity' often consists of images of outsiders; for a people this can mean groups of ethnic minorities. The reaction of the ego, whether of the individual or of the group, becomes a guarding of the identity, which often comes to the surface as an accentuated alternative. For example, on the basis of this theory Fallmerayer's anti-Greek attitude can be explained as follows: Fallmerayer had a great fear of the danger of Slavic revenge for the suppression of the Slavic minorities in Germany. The accentuated alternative for his unconscious fear of the Slavic image surfaced in his nationalistic attitude of German superiority.

Fallmerayer could not have chosen a better moment to wound the Greeks. He published his theory at the moment when the Greeks were occupied in forming their new state and national identity on the basis of the positive characteristics of identity which were supplied by Western Hellenists and philhellenes. His thesis that the Greeks were actually Slavs and Albanians was felt by them as a direct blow. During Fallmerayer's stay in Athens in 1847 the Greeks reacted fiercely and with bitterness. Newspapers were filled with critical articles, satirical comment and caricatures. Intellectuals gave lectures attacking his theory. Children pointed at him and abused him in the street by shouting "Slav! Slav!" In the meantime a rather curious misunderstanding had emerged amongst the Greeks, namely that Fallmerayer was pro-Slav and an agent of the Russian Czar. This misunderstanding arose because Fallmerayer had become such a frightening force that they could not even bring themselves to study his works. Only as recently as 1984 was Fallmerayer's theory translated into Greek.

The need of the Greeks to defend themselves arose. This defensive attitude is noticeable on many levels: in historiography, in language and in research into popular culture.

In historiography Paparrigopoulos became the voice of the national cause. In 1843 he published his refutation of Fallmerayer's Slavic theory (Paparrigopoulos 1986). The Slavs had indeed invaded Greece, but were a minority which was quickly assimilated into the indigenous population. The victory of the Greek language was the best proof of this. Following Zinkeisen he argued that what characterizes a people is not purity of race, but their cultural and historical traditions. His five-volume life-work *The History of the Greek Nation* (1860-1874) brought him recognition as Greece's national historian. This work is based on the concept of Greek historical continuity over 3000 years. From Paparrigopoulos also comes the following definition of the term 'ethnos' ('nation'): to the Greek nation belong all those who speak the Greek language as their mother tongue. This definition was normative in Greek politics until 1922.

With Paparrigopoulos Greek historiography gained a political dimension; he wrote the manifesto of the panhellenic movement. In 1889 he writes: "For the Greeks historiography is not only a science, but also the Gospel of the present and the future of the Fatherland" (Paparrigopoulos 1889, 143, quoted in: Veloudis 1982, 77). He called for emphasis to be placed on the Byzantine period, because the modern Greeks were the direct descendants of the Byzantines and inherited from the Byzantines their present enemies, the Bulgars and the Muslims. Byzantium was the bridge between Classical Antiquity and the modern Christian world. By his historiographical labours Paparrigopoulos gave theoretical legitimacy to the integration of Byzantium within the Greek national consciousness. Until 1922 many Greek historians followed in his footsteps. Their researches were directed by nationalistic considerations; they concentrated on the study of Byzantium, the Slavic question and the question of the origins of the modern Greeks. Herewith, the basis of Byzantinology was formed.

The process of the integration of Byzantium in the Greek national consciousness would have had to take place anyway in order to restore the feeling of historical continuity. Fallmerayer has been the stimulus which accelerated the

process. However he brought home to Greeks the negative characteristics contributing to their identity. It became clear whom they did not wish to resemble: Slavs, Albanians or any ethnic minority. Many Greeks felt forced to defend themselves by adopting his racist criteria, which consequently became a cause for their own racism. Hans Eideneier has stated that Fallmerayer contributed more to Greek self-consciousness than the whole philhellenic movement (quoted in Fallmerayer 1984, 9). It seems to me, however, that this statement overestimates the positive effect of Fallmerayer's theories.

Since language is an important instrument of guarding the national identity, there arose, in reaction to Fallmerayer, a resort to archaizing language in the State apparatus, in education, in the Press and in literature. However, the language became so archaic and artificial that the great majority was no longer able to assimilate it. Furthermore, scientific research into Greek popular culture had one basic goal: to prove the continuity of Greek culture. In 1824 the Frenchman Fauriel, a philhellene, had published a collection of Greek folksongs. Following him Nikolaos Politis in 1882 introduced folklore as a subject for study at the Greek university. These researches made a great contribution to the emancipation of the Greek demotic language. Archaizing Greek was not a viable instrument in the long run, because its artificiality excluded the majority of Greeks, whose participation was necessary for the Greek national identity. Moreover these studies proved that the demotic language was nothing to be ashamed of, because the cultural material in it could be traced to Greek Antiquity.

Identity Revolt

From about 1880 onwards a growing polarisation can be discerned. If we compare the development of the Greek identity with the identity development of individuals then we can compare this stage to the period of adolescence, when revolt against the parents is necessary in the evolution towards a mature, independent identity. The revolt of the 1880s manifested itself first with poets and prose writers. On a large scale they came to use the demotic language and were inspired thematically by popular traditions. As a sign that they had adopted Byzantium in their identity they purposely used the word 'Romios' ('Roman'). "Romios", according to Jannis Psycharis, "means Athens and Rome and encloses both cultures ... Romios also means Hellene. To be ashamed of this name, is equal to being ashamed of yourself" (Psycharis 1929-37, I, 77f, quoted in Tzermias 1986, 47).

The final victory of the demotic language was not won without a struggle. Despite having nationalism and anti-Fallmerianism in common, Archaists and Demoticists accused each other of treason. The Archaists accused the Demoticists of cooperation with the Slavs(!) and in return they themselves were accused of xenomania, by which was meant their support of Western Classicism (Kordatos 1983, 411-2). How explosive an issue this was is shown by the riots of 1901, which were provoked by the Modern Greek translation of the New Testament (the 'Evangelika'). Riots occurred again in 1903, on account of the staging of the

Oresteia of Aeschylus in Modern Greek (the 'Oresteika'). Both riots caused casualties and deaths.

The turning point in the Panhellenic ideal of broadening the Greek boundaries in such a way that all native speakers of Greek are included, came in 1922. After the catastrophic defeat by the Turks in 1922, the Greeks realized that the 'Sturm und Drang' nationalism of the nineteenth century led to self-destruction. This insight was not only valid for the Greeks, but for all Europeans after the First World War. It led to a new commitment at various levels of society; in politics, in literature, and in historiography. In politics the Greeks concentrated more on social-economic problems. Literature acquired a strong pacifistic tone and the genre of the social novel emerged. Historians focused more on economic and social history and Marxist historiography gained in popularity. The father of Marxist historiography in Greece, Yiannis Kordatos, published, in 1924, his first book, in which he tried to explain the Greek struggle for liberation from the Turks from the perspective of the class-struggle (Kordatos 1924). The identity crisis appeared to be over, because nationalism became taboo; in reality, however, it lived on.

The Greek identity after 1922

The original polarisation between Archaists and Demoticists in the nineteenth century, had focused on language and the Athens-Byzantium opposition; in the 1930s it acquired a political dimension, when the left-wing linked its identity with the demotic language and the extreme right with the archaistic language. The reciprocal accusations of pro-Slavic (i.e. pro-Russian) and pro-Western treason were maintained. This was one cause of the fierceness of the struggle between left and right in Greece; not only political differences were involved, but also a threat to their very identity.

It is significant that a newspaper in Greece — which until recently has sympathised with the communist viewpoint — is called by the apparently nationalistic name *Ethnos* ('Nation') and that the word 'laos' ('People'), which is a popular word in the Communists' vocabulary, means not only working-class people, but has nationalistic connotations as well. Although nationalism does not harmonise with Marxist doctrine, Greek Marxism cannot go so far as to exclude nationalism. When Merlina Merkouri lost her civil rights during the Dictatorship 1967-1974, she declared: "Είμαι Ρωμαίος" ('I am a Roman'). By this statement she expressed both her revolt against the right wing and her pride in being Greek and a socialist.

Also in historiography the matter of identity is still a sensitive one. Every Greek historian who studies Greek history feels forced to take up a position in regard to the question of continuity. In 1965 the American Byzantinist, Cyril Mango, stoked up the issue with his thesis that the continuity between Classical Greece and Byzantium is a myth. After publication of this thesis in Greece, heated reactions followed in the press, and the Greek Vakalopoulos called him the new Fallmerayer. The historian Veloudis again reacted in 1982, choosing the side

of Mango. He argued that Mango did not deny the historical continuity at all, and suggested that Vakalopoulos was a racist who sympathized the Dictatorship (see Mango 1984, ch. 1, 2, 3, and Veloudis 1982, 79-80).

Denying Greek historical continuity means to the Greeks denying their identity. It has always been Westerners who have brought the positive and negative identity-characteristics to which the Greeks have 'reacted'. Since the image of Classical Antiquity was above all a projection of the norms and tastes of the Hellenists and philhellenes, one may wonder what the Greeks had to respond to actually — to their Classical ancestors, or the capricious ideals of their Western brothers? In the Greek consciousness these two entities, namely the Classical past and Western Europe, come together. The love-hate attitude which is felt in respect of, for example, Western politics or the Western tourist is the same love-hate attitude which Greeks feel towards their Classical past. On the one hand they want to be recognized by Western Europe as the descendants of the Classical Greeks, and feel flattered and proud when this happens; on the other hand they suffer from feelings of inferiority, because they look at themselves through Western eyes. Greek identity therefore has become strongly dependent on the West, and this in turn is a reason for revolt. This revolt is strongest on the Left, where there is a tendency to look at the philhellenes as agents of Western imperialism. However, revolt is also a form of dependency, and it obstructs the development of a mature identity. There is still an inner conflict between revolt and obedience towards Western patronage. In a deeper psychological sense the Greeks' love-hate relationship towards the West and towards the Classical past reflects a love-hate relationship towards themselves.

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BYZANTIUM AND THE MIDDLE AGES*

Bunna Ebels

1 Introduction

"Byzantine history is part of general medieval history. Accordingly, Byzantinology belongs to the field of Medieval Studies." If, at first sight, this might seem an uncontroversial proposition, we all know that it is likely to raise storms of protest.

Let us for the moment imagine how the young scholar whom we suppose to have spoken the above words might defend his position: "Byzantine history is Medieval history for two different kinds of reason: the first concerns periodization, the second, historical content. As to the first: both Medieval and Byzantine history deal with, roughly speaking, the millennium-plus between the foundation of Constantinople and its conquest by the Turks (330-1453).¹ As to the second: both Medieval and Byzantine history share the same subject-matter, i.e.: the internal and external transformations of the Roman Empire from the time of the official acceptance of Christianity through to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the Christian world made a momentous territorial expansion overseas even as it lost ground in the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus one cannot but conclude that both medievalists and Byzantinologists study the development and the transformations of the same civilization over the same period of time. The only reason for calling their disciplines by different names is the specialization of the Byzantinologist within the field: the latter will confine himself to those geographical regions where the rule of Constantinople was at one time accepted, whereas

* The original version of this article appeared in Dutch (Ebels-Hoving 1991). I am grateful to the Editors for their permission to have an adapted version printed here.

1 Ever since the first seventeenth-century attempts to define chronologically the concept of the 'Middle Ages', this has been done in close relation to 'Byzantium': Chr. Cellarius, *Historia medii aevi a temporibus Constantini Magni usque ad Constantinopolim a Turcis captam*, 1688.

the 'plain' medievalist is left to those regions which were either lost to the Emperor at an early stage, or, though claimed, were never governed by him in actual fact. It is in this sense that Byzantine history forms part of general medieval history, be it a specific part."

If we are allowed to continue in this vein for a moment, we may imagine our young scholar as coming under heavy attack. His first opponent is a classical Greek scholar, who states, briefly, that Byzantium is the link between classical and modern Greece, that it is studied through Greek texts requiring a firm knowledge of classical Greek, which makes it a natural extension of classical studies.² Other opponents, less passionate (an art historian, a Church historian?), put forward the view that similarity in subject-matter does not necessarily mean that a field of research remains undivided: "Even if we accept that Byzantine history is part of general medieval history, it does not follow that Byzantine studies simply form part of general medieval studies." If countered with this last remark, our young scholar will be likely to give ground, to confess that he meant to be provocative for the sake of stimulating a fruitful argument, and to ask permission to explain himself by going back in history. The following paragraphs might be held, then, to comprise his story.

2 Early history of Byzantine and medieval studies; mutual specialization

Byzantinology nowadays boasts its own history of historiography, so that it is easy to picture its birth and development.³ Historical-philological interest in 'Byzantium' emerged in the sixteenth century, at the time when Renaissance humanism favoured the study of Greek — of *all* Greek texts as it happened, regardless of the period from which they dated. Contemporary political circumstances drew attention to the Turks, to their history, and to the history of their adversaries, while the Reformation favoured a specific historical curiosity about earlier forms of antipapism and thus pointed to the Christian East. Hieronymus Wolf (died 1580), Melancthon's pupil and librarian to the Augsburg Fuggers, edited some of the more important Byzantine chroniclers: Zonaras, Niketas Choniates. He was also to plan a *Corpus byzantinae historiae*, though this project, too ambitious for the time, only materialized a century later, when the learned Ph. Labbe S.J. started the so-called *Louvre series*, under the patronage of no less a person than Louis XIV. This series was first reprinted in Venice; later, revised and extended, it was also reprinted in Bonn as the *Bonner corpus*, CSHB (1828 - ...). The milieu

2 This is the view of G. Moravcsik (1976, 16), though he also acknowledges the claims of History. Rightly so, for it is obvious that fundamental, usually tacitly accepted notions on the course and essential features of Greek history play their part in the approaches and emphases of both philologists and historians. Much depends on their views on the problem of continuity in Greek history, which has drawn considerable attention of late, see Mango 1984b, Haldon 1985, 128 and n. 34, with many more references, and n. 19 below.

3 Apart from Moravcsik 1976 the following have been used: Irmscher 1971; Schreiner 1986, 97-109; Ostrogorsky 1989, Introduction; Kazhdan-Constable 1982, Introduction; Wessel 1983; Koder e.a. 1983; Ducellier 1988, 7-34; Vasiliev 1952, Introduction.

in which the idea of the *Louvre series* was conceived, the mental climate of seventeenth-century French absolutism, obviously favoured research into earlier forms of unlimited supreme rule.⁴ A mere 'climate' cannot, however, explain the genius of Charles Dufresne DuCange (1610-1688), who provided the learned world with topographical, genealogical and philological treasures like the *Constantinopolis Christiana*, the *Familiae Augustae Byzantinae*, and the famous *Glossarium mediae et infimae graecitatis*. Another famous scholar of the time was Jean Mabillon (1632-1707), founding father of the disciplines of paleography and of diplomatics, who was deeply interested in Byzantine studies. In the same period, moreover, the Bollandists, in Brussels, started their long-term project of the *Acta sanctorum* (1643), in which they incorporated the saints of the Eastern Church.

This is the appropriate moment at which to interrupt the story of early Byzantine studies, in order to point to something which current introductions into the field fail to mention, but which catches the attention of the 'general' medievalist: the scholars just mentioned, DuCange, Mabillon, the Bollandists, are also the founding fathers of his own discipline. He now realizes that even further back in the story he has experienced the same recognition of names. For, when the introductions to Byzantine studies began to expand on the sixteenth-century beginnings, they mentioned the names of Vulcanius and Meursius, scholars commonly associated with Dutch medieval history; these, then, turn out to be 'pioneers in Byzantinology' as well!⁵ The experience of familiarity persists when the story is taken up again and continued into the eighteenth century, where he meets the great J.B. Mansi, learned editor of that impressive quantity of conciliar decrees from both Byzantine East and Latin West: *sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (1759 ff.).

Were medieval and Byzantine studies, then, born as Siamese twins, and kept alive by the Renaissance love and reverence for the Greek heritage, which, right from the start, incorporated 'Byzantium' in the general course of developing historical-philological scholarship? The image of the Siamese twins is appropriate, both in the initial stage of interconnection and in the subsequent one of separation. How this parting came about will occupy the rest of the present bird's-eye review. The Byzantine half survived the Enlightenment in quite a conspicuous way; while suffering, like its twin, from a comparative decline in learned interest, Byzantium became notorious for its depreciation as a result of the moral condemnation by such leading figures as Voltaire. Charles Lebeau's twenty-seven volumes on the *Histoire du Bas Empire* (1757-1784; the title is not without its significance) and Edward Gibbon's much more famous *Decline and Fall* (1776-1788) together seemed to exhaust the subject. However, despite Gibbon's irony

4 Kazhdan-Constable 1982, 9. Moravcsik (1976, 22) points, in addition, to French nationalism and its tendency to glorify the role of the French in crusading history, culminating in the sack of Constantinople (1204). Interest in the crusades favoured the study and editing of relevant Byzantine historiography.

5 Ostrogorsky 1989, 6. See Romein 1937, 213-9. My mentioning of Meursius and Vulcanius is not intended to suggest, of course, that the early emphasis on Byzantine texts was particularly Dutch; the type of all-round classical scholar who naturally takes Byzantium in his stride is to be found throughout Europe (see Beck 1972, 67-119).

and sarcasm, Byzantine studies not only survived, but even began to grow into a distinct discipline.⁶ As with earlier stages of the history of Byzantinology, the general background of cultural interests may have fertilized the process: this time it was philhellenism which encouraged a view of the Greek past as a special development, different in character from a mere late-classical aftermath. One of the first results was the 'Bonner Corpus', mentioned above. The first volume of this old/new series of Greek text-editions appeared in 1828. Subsequently, with J.P. Migne's *Patrologia graeca* (Paris, 1857-1866), a hundred and sixty-six volumes of Greek texts became available.

Migne ... here, possibly for the last time, the general medievalist may feel himself to be on common ground, for he is familiar with the same Migne's even larger series *Patrologia latina*. And if the story of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Byzantinology may remind him of the main general trends in the history of historiography, differences now begin to present themselves. For whereas the birth of 'scientific' Byzantinology occurred within the mental context of philhellenism, the birth of an equally 'scientific' medievalism has traditionally been ascribed to Romanticism. Nevertheless this does not imply a complete loss of common ground, for are not both concepts, philhellenism and Romanticism, consanguineous? Does Byron's name not stand for both?⁷

Migne's double monument was a towering one, however much modern scholarship may sneer at it (e.g. Schreiner 1986, 1.c); both Byzantinologists and medievalists still have to rely, for large parts of their work, on this amazing treasure of texts. After Migne the two bodies grew apart and matured rapidly. Since the end of the last century, Byzantine and medieval studies have become separate disciplines, both of which have proliferated throughout Europe and the United States. The proliferation of the 'medieval' half is in no way surprising, as throughout the Christian world the growth of nationalism impelled scholars to dig as deeply as possible in search of their own national past. The proliferation of Byzantine studies, however, is a different matter: whereas only Greece, Russia, Italy and some Balkan countries can claim 'Byzantium' as part of their own direct heritage, there are in fact centres for Byzantine studies (to the number of twenty-seven!⁸) scattered all over the Western world: from Vienna to Birmingham, from Munich to Washington D.C. It is true that many of these centres are manned by scholars of Greek or Eastern European descent, but they also draw on indigenous stock.⁹

6 Gibbon's influence may actually have kindled interest of a positive kind in Byzantium, see Moravcsik 1976, 25.

7 Apart from the connection between romanticism and philhellenism personified by Byron there are, of course, other (related) phenomena which accompany the professionalization of various disciplines at this stage, see Schreiner 1986, 98 and Ostrogorsky 1989, 6.

8 For the exact number see Schreiner 1986, 101.

9 In this context we may mention our own Leyden professor D.C. Hesseling, who not only edited many Byzantine literary texts but also wrote a very readable introduction for the general public (Hesseling 1902). For more names at the various Institutes in Europe and the U.S. see Ebels-Hoving 1991, 40. For the surprising omission of H.J. Scheltema's work on the *Basilica cum scholiis* from the listing of Byzantine Studies in the current introductions, which is noted there (46 n. 10), we now have an explanation, see Henssen 1992, 158-65: some influential Byzantine scholars had their reservations on Scheltema's originally one-man enterprise.

This proliferation of Byzantine studies is an interesting phenomenon, which should not be taken for granted. However, an attempt to explain their appeal to the learned world would take us beyond the scope of this paper.

3 Separation

Thus the former Siamese twins now live in separate homes. Yet they are still on visiting terms. Before exploring the nature of their contacts we should realize why the separation took place. The reasons are twofold: the language of the Byzantine sources, and their character.

Let us consider the language first. After Justinian's reign the Eastern half of the Roman Empire quickly became (re-)Grecized, not only in the spoken word (which in general had remained Greek anyway) — but also in writing. While spoken Greek evolved into various 'dialects', literature generally remained "the slave of classicism" (Moravcsik 1976, 76-7). The result was a true language barrier. While this was a problem, no doubt, for the inhabitant of the Eastern Empire himself, it presents an even bigger one for today's Byzantinologists. Our age, which has witnessed a rapid decrease in the knowledge of classical Greek, cannot expect much expertise in its medieval variants. And whereas until recently the common medievalist still tried to deal, somehow, with medieval Latin and vernacular texts, he is clearly not equipped to go *ad fontes byzantinos*. Of course he can make do with translations, but he will be hampered by the realization that they are bound to have an interpretative quality. Besides, a great many of the translations are in Latin, and much has not been translated at all.

But however large the language question may loom, there is a more important factor which splits the world of byzantinologists and medievalists: the difference in character of the sources in the two fields. That the Byzantine sources are comparatively limited in scope is a matter of common agreement, though the nature of the limitations has rarely been specified. If we study the impressive listings of types of sources in the works of Moravcsik (1976, 101-16) or Karayannopoulos-Weiss (1982, 65-160), the Byzantine situation does not seem to differ greatly from that of the Latin West. There are large quantities of written sources of the following kinds: historiography, hagiography, rhetoric (both secular and ecclesiastical), letters; legal, (court)ceremonial, strategical, 'scientific', literary. But the non-narrative, the documentary field is more sparsely covered, though there are monasterial deeds, decrees of various provenance, and *notitiae* (lists). The field which is least represented, however, is financial documents; no mention is made of accounts, whether royal, provincial or municipal. How, in the face of this particular gap, is it possible to study the actual (as opposed to the theoretical) workings of government or the functioning of towns and civic life? Though the fairly well-documented administration of justice may be of help, many aspects of normal daily life are condemned to remain in the dark. On the whole, the West is much better off, especially for the later centuries. This situation would seem to render an analogous approach to historical phenomena in Byzantium

and in the West impossible.¹⁰ So far, the overall effect has been that we still see Byzantine history mainly in terms of the workings of church, law and art, guided as we are by the body of sources at our disposal. Consequently the Byzantine image has gradually become one of exceptional piety, subtlety and aesthetic sensitivity.¹¹

Common sense demands a correction of that image, but can we proceed if we lack the necessary sources? Perhaps we may hope to make some progress if we bring the former Siamese twins back together.

4 *Rapprochement*

So far, the Medieval and Byzantine disciplines have never completely lost sight of each other, although there are differences in attitude (which we shall leave aside for the moment). A few examples taken from modern bibliographical and historiographical practice may illustrate the situation. The general bibliography most frequently used by medievalists, the current *IMB* (International Medieval Bibliography, Leeds) is remarkably full on Byzantine subjects, as are the bibliographies of the *RHE* (Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Louvain). General medieval histories also tend to include Byzantium; for instance, both the old *Cambridge Medieval History* and the recent *Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought* do so.¹² Steven Runciman's *History of the Crusades* focused on Byzantium, while J.L. LaMonte even proposed, as early as 1949, "a reorientation of medieval history" when he centred his *World of the Middle Ages* on Constantinople instead of Rome. More recently, Judith Herrin has endeavoured to take this reorientation even further by including Islam in her account of early medieval religious/institutional history, *The Formation of Christendom* (1987). Her ambition is to picture the religious interaction of the 'three heirs of Rome' while standing, as it were, in their midst, and avoiding, in this way, the traditional Western-centred approach of purely Mediterranean developments. And if we turn to the Byzantine side, and to a basic discipline, the important *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz* (1982) consistently keeps within the framework of general 'medieval' systematism.¹³

10 On the lack of certain types of sources on the Byzantine side see Schreiner 1986, 110, who names chronicles of towns, cloisters and families. On the other hand Byzantium can boast of the survival of 'deeds of civil servants', a genre unknown to the West, see Karayannopoulos-Weiss 1982, 104. That it will remain impossible to study Byzantine social-economic history in the same depth as in the Latin West, due to lack of sources, is recognized by Kazhdan-Constable 1982, 178. This is not to deny, of course, the great increase in knowledge of Byzantium's social, economic and agrarian history due to the work of scholars like H. Ahrweiler, E. Patlagean and P. Lemerle.

11 On the impact of Byzantine art on the contemporary mind see Kazhdan-Constable 1982, 4-5: "The directness of art may account for the greater effect that this branch of Byzantine studies has had on the public at large, thereby accelerating its reassessment."

12 Our impression is that Anglo-Saxon 'general' historiography shows a marked inclination to pay considerable attention to Byzantium. Elsewhere, particularly in Germany, this is not the case.

13 Karayannopoulos-Weiss 1982, 4, starting with "Literatur zur Methodik".

The randomness of these examples being obvious, let us now focus on trends in the choice of subject matter. We have already noted the traditional emphasis on institutional, ecclesiastical, legal and artistic aspects of Byzantine history. The workings of 'caesaropapism', for instance, have fascinated generations of students (see Geanakoplos 1966). However, similar topics have also been prominent in general medieval studies, though the situation with regard to source material was different. Medievalists have also tended to concentrate on subjects like the struggle between Pope and (Roman) Emperor, the workings of feudalism, councils and parliaments. For the greater part of our century, sovereignty, methods of government, the 'birth of the state' have been of predominant concern to both Byzantinologist and medievalist.

Today, as we all know, the emphasis has shifted. If we measure the impact of medieval research by the standard of best-selling authors (Le Goff, LeRoy Ladurie, Ginzburg, Peter Brown), it is evident that contemporary concern is with medieval *emotions*; emotions, as distinct from intellectual activity, religious nonconformity, or even artistic sensibility: something like physical awareness, lived-through experience. It is not easy to date this shift of emphasis *in historicis*; it is still called 'new', even though it has been with us for decades. It seems clear, however, that Byzantinologists have been slow to accept the trend. Until recently they still seemed hooked on the *themes* and the *pronoia*, on the Senate and people of the capital, on the struggle against Turks, Slavs, Normans and Venetians, on heretics and, continually, on the architecture and decorations of Hagia Sophia and Chora churches. But there is now a change in the air. If one compares Ostrogorsky's leading *History of the Byzantine State* (1989, original edition 1940, in Russian) with Cyril Mango's *Byzantium, the Empire of the New Rome* (1980, 1988) one is struck by the difference in approach. With Mango we are in Le Goff's mental climate (the term is appropriate). His central chapter is entitled: "The Conceptual World of Byzantium", and we start with "The Invisible World of Good and Evil". Another textbook of the 1980's, *People and Power in Byzantium, An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies*, a co-production of the medievalist G. Constable and the Byzantinologist A. Kazhdan, opens with "Homo byzantinus in society" and continues with "The Material Environment of homo byzantinus" and with "Byzantine Life and Behaviour". A popular French introductory work, A. Ducellier's *Les Byzantins* (1988), has a chapter titled "Une économie et une société immobilières?". And a recent issue of *Past and Present*, a journal famous for its emphasis on human 'existential' experience, asks the intriguing question: "Byzantium: a friendly society?" (Mullett 1988). Questions of this nature are not and never have been the special domain of either medievalist or Byzantinologist. They have been asked for some time in the broader fields of historical and literary studies. But the fact that at this moment they appear to be popular with both medievalist and Byzantinologist draws the two specialisms together again.¹⁴

14 This has also been noticed by Haldon 1985, esp. 127 and n. 33^a.

5 Comparing rather than mixing

Does this amount to another call for interdisciplinarity?¹⁵ Yes, but not unreservedly. For we should realize that the results of our specializations are not always simply cumulative, and therefore we should be modest in our expectations. Let us see if something may be gained by returning to the time-honoured comparative approach.

In the case of Byzantium and the Middle Ages, comparative history was discarded as being out of fashion before its possibilities had been fully exploited. This is a pity, for our insight into a good many 'Western' phenomena which we do not grasp fully — though our factual knowledge is extensive — may increase by comparison with their Byzantine counterparts. A few random examples are: feudalism, the birth of the towns, the position of women. An analytical comparison is useful precisely because we are dealing with phenomena which *are* comparable, sprouting, as they do, from the same stem. Byzantines were neither Aztecs nor Chinese, but the contemporaries and congeners of medieval men, living in similar but different circumstances. Thus the comparative approach does not run the risk of comparing apples with pears.

A good example is that of monasticism in East and West. Both have their roots in the Egyptian desert. Nevertheless the history of monasteries in the West is one of developing and conflicting rules, whereas the East is indifferent on this point; whereas the West continually reformed its cloisters on a grand scale, the East did so only occasionally and locally (cf. Beck 1978, 207-12). This means that Byzantium lacks the compelling story of changing religious orders in the context of changing social demands. On the other hand: in Byzantium the iconoclastic controversy was lengthy and intensive, whereas in the West it died down at an early stage. Such contrasts keep the historian on the alert and prevent him from taking certain historical factors for granted. As far as iconoclasm is concerned, Judith Herrin's above-mentioned *Formation of Christendom* is an example of a comparative approach of the phenomenon (although this is not explicitly stated).¹⁶ Another recent example in the field of the history of religion is vol. 16 of a series on *Christian Spirituality* (1989), which *within one volume* has chapters on "Monasticism and Ascetism: 1. Eastern, 2. Western"; "Spirituality: 1. Syriac, 2. Celtic and Germanic"; "Ways of Prayer and Contemplation: 1. Eastern, 2. Western".

Asking more questions does not automatically provide more answers. Yet the comparative method has produced more results. Let us consider the case of the *basileus*, the darling of the Byzantinologist.¹⁷ We are well-informed on the mani-

fold aspects of imperial rule: we know the details of the court ceremonial, of the rules and practice of succession, of the relations between emperor and patriarch, of the imperial ideology and of the actual limitations of imperial power. Nevertheless our image of the Byzantine emperor lacks precision. It gains sharper contours if we compare him with his Roman predecessors and with his Western contemporaries. Only then is his specific identity revealed. It is to be found in the Greek-Hellenistic component of Byzantine 'Imperialism', as distinct from the other two components, the Christian and the Roman ones, which, when left alone, produced Charlemagnes or Barbarossas; if we are to believe the truism that the *basileus* was essentially different, the difference must lie in the 'Greek' or 'Eastern' part of his heritage. But where may we find it? In the field of his dealings with the Law, we are told (see Ahrweiler 1980), that whereas the Latin Emperor was the supreme interpreter, the *basileus* was either its 'physician' or its living embodiment. This example of the comparative approach is perhaps a hazardous one, as its outcome is controversial; we present it here only in order to illustrate a promising way of tackling historical problems.

Related to comparative studies, though not necessarily purely comparative in character, is the flourishing field of 'relational' history. Unlike comparativism this has never gone out of fashion: Byzantium's dealings with the outside world, whether commercial, institutional, diplomatic, artistic or whatever, can boast a continuous scholarly interest. Noticeable however is the abandonment of naive assumptions about 'influence'; modern scholars are reluctant to see influence as the natural consequence of (any sort of) contact. Whereas it has long been taken for granted that Byzantium was superior to its neighbours in many respects (such as law, art, diplomacy), so that Byzantium was treated as a world apart, standing aside and above the destinies of an 'underdeveloped' Western Europe (Brown 1982b, 171), more recent opinion follows either the Brown-Herrin way of focusing on a Mediterranean *koinè* with a continuous internal cultural interchange, or reverts to the Gibborean notion of a Byzantium that simply had little to offer to the West (Howard-Johnston 1988, 4-6). How extremely difficult the assessment of 'influence' can be is shown by the current (but not new) debate on the Bogomile influence on the Cathars in Italy and France. While Hamilton (1988), recently (re-)emphasized the links between Balkan Bogomilism and Western Catharism, Malcolm Lambert has excised a whole chapter on these very Bogomils from the new version of his *Medieval Heresy* (1992, xiii). The debate is as lively as ever.

6 To conclude: important issues

What we may gain from comparative and 'relational' studies is not only a better insight into details or aspects. Comparisons between Byzantine and general medieval history have traditionally brought historians to discuss essential historical concepts such as 'continuity' or 'sterility'. Historical periods of long duration tend to provoke ponderings on questions of 'inner strength' or 'inner weakness'. In the case of Byzantine history the overall view, among Byzantinologists, is that the Empire succeeded in preserving the greater part of the Greek heritage, because

15 Schreiner 1986, 97, attempting to define Byzantinology as an interdiscipline, gets into trouble when he speaks of the absolute necessity of "real interdisciplinarity" while at the same time denying its possibility.

16 For earlier attempts to comparative approaches of iconoclasm see Brown 1982c and especially Freedberg 1977 (including later European developments).

17 Schreiner 1986, 141: "das Kaisertum gehört zu den am häufigsten in der byzantinistischen Forschung behandelten Institutionen." See, e.g., the nine-page, densely packed bibliography added to Ohnsorge 1983, 28-36.

it was *strong* in a variety of aspects.¹⁸ It died precisely at the time when the West was ripe to take over, at the Renaissance. Medievalists have been inclined to ask why, in the meantime, such a large part of the Greek heritage had to make its famous Arabic detour, why so little happened, comparatively, in the field of direct cultural transference to the West, and why it was that the Crusading movement almost completely misfired, given the possibilities of a 'mix under stress'. If Byzantium kept its share of the Christian-classical heritage largely to itself (with the exception of artistic products), did it do so because of its 'essential structures' (Weiss 1977), or because of its famous 'continuity', which by its very nature imposed a certain degree of isolation? We have already noted a recent upsurge of interest in this type of problem. The emphasis now appears to be on elements of *discontinuity* in Byzantine history, be it as yet tentatively: "Continuity was rather the exterior shape of Byzantium's existence, capable of masking its real discontinuity."¹⁹ Cyril Mango is quite outspoken on this point, and he has argued that there was a kind of mental shift in early Byzantium. Little by little he is shattering the still generally accepted image of a long late-classical survival (Mango 1984b).

Again, this is merely an example to illustrate modern trends in historiography. But it may also serve to bring into focus our true argument: that the fields of Byzantine and Medieval studies still need each other in order to remain fertile. Although it has clearly become impossible to re-integrate them completely, as Walter Ullmann has recommended with great aplomb,²⁰ it still remains necessary to bring them back to speaking terms again.

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- 18 See Ostrogorsky 1989, 572: "Byzantium had preserved the heritage of the ancient world and in so doing had fulfilled its mission in world history." (!)
 19 Kazhdan-Cutler 1982, the quotation on p. 478. Kazhdan's struggle with the problem is elucidated by Angold 1987: "Within fairly clear limits dictated by tradition there could be experiment and difference of emphasis. This, in the end, is the conclusion to which the book leads." See also n. 2, above.
 20 Ullmann 1973: "The excision of Byzantine history from medieval European studies does indeed seem to me an unforgivable offence against the very spirit of history." (24); "The omission of Constantinople from our medieval history syllabus is as grave a deficiency as the omission of the USA or the USSR would be from a course that dealt with modern twentieth-century Europe." (25); "Without the integration of Byzantium any study of the genesis and evolution of medieval Europe is bound to remain fragmentary, if not misleading, intellectually parochial, if not disingenuous, and historically suspect." (26) That this outburst has remained without effect is self-evident.

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THE FINAL FALL OF BYZANTIUM? THE GREEK WRITER DHIMÍTRIS CHATZÍS (1913-1981) AND BYZANTIUM*

Hero Hokwerda

The name Byzantium itself is not to be found in the literary oeuvre of the Greek post-war writer Dhímítris Chatzís (1913-1981). However, what Byzantium stands for in Chatzís' framework of ideas is, no matter how veiled, quite emphatically present throughout all of his literary work. This is especially true of his novel *The Double Book* (1976), which is the culmination of his literary work and the themes expressed in it.

In the eighth — the last 'real' — chapter of *The Double Book*, the Writer, a character in the novel, is in Moláï (Southern Peloponnese) visiting Anastasía, the sister of the main character, Kostas. She tells him what has been happening in her life since her departure for Moláï soon after her wedding in Soúrpi (Mid-Greece), some years before, which had been the occasion of their previous meeting. They sit together in silence for two hours; then Anastasía stands up, fetches the plaits she has cut off and gives them to the Writer, saying:

"Useless poet, defeated with us. Take this from me, your useless reward. The greatest — there is no greater than this. I, Anastasía of the murdered birds, I give it to you.

For our book — which you didn't write..." (Chatzís 1976, 181)

In the final chapter, 'Epilogues to the first book, short prologue to the second', Anastasía tells her brother Kostas, who is visiting from Germany, what happened after she had spoken these words: the Writer left, after accepting her plaits.

"He didn't go to the bus station. He walked out of Moláï, left the main road after a while and turned right, walking through the country paths, continuing

* Translation from Dutch: Margaret Kofod.

downhill the whole afternoon. The sun was setting when he finally reached the banks of the Eurotas. That was where he was going. He stopped. He had been thinking about it for many years. Here on this very spot Goethe's second Faust, that strong, courageous young man, had found his Helen for that glorious union of the New Age.

All around him the banks of the Eurotas are desolate. That is what he came for. Everything at a standstill in desolation. Bitter is his soul, silent his mind, the kiss of death, as she [Anastasía] had given it to him, on his lips. So this union was all that was left: this union of death. And night is falling. Not a voice to be heard, only the lament of the trees — his own art is dying. He opened his hands and her shorn hair was scattered in the wind. The end.

No-one has ever seen him again since then, no-one ever heard what happened to him — did he die there? Did he hide? Did he remain silent? Forever? (...) His half-finished book was left in her hands (...)" (Chatzís 1976, 200)

Even if Chatzís had not already been familiar with Goethe's Faust, he would certainly have been put on that track, during his years as a philologist in Budapest, by his Hungarian teacher, the well-known Byzantinist Gyula Moravcsik, who had written an article in the twenties titled 'Zur Quellenfrage der Helenaepisode in Goethes Faust' (Moravcsik 1929); Chatzís discussed this article briefly in the lecture he gave on Moravcsik's work on Modern Greek philology on February 2nd 1974, in commemoration of Moravcsik's death the year before (Chatzís 1975).

John Schmitt, editor of the *Chronicle of Morea*, had already (in 1904) indicated this chronicle as a possible source for the episode of Faust's and Helen's meeting in Goethe's *Faust*; there is a comparable 'meeting' in the chronicle in the form of the marriage of the 'Frankish' Guillaume II de Villehardouin (1245-1278) to the Greek Anna, daughter of the Despot of Epirus (and also, adds Chatzís, daughter of St. Theodora of Arta, who was herself in favour of Unification of the Churches, whereas her husband was opposed to it). Moravcsik cites — and this is the most important part of his article — a certain passage from the Chronicle of (Pseudo-) Dorotheos of Monemvasia as a more probable source for Faust's encounter with Helen; this passage contains the following description of the above-mentioned Anna: εὐμορφωτάτην καὶ χαριτωμένην ἀπὸ κεφαλῆν καὶ ὅλον τὸ κορμί, ὥς δευτέραν Ἑλένην τοῦ Μενελάου. Moravcsik is not able to prove his point, but he makes a good case for the theory that Goethe, who was impressed by the Greek War of Independence and, after 1821, made a study of the Peloponnese and the consequences of the Fourth Crusade, knew this particular passage and drew his inspiration from it when, shortly afterwards, he wrote his final version of the Helen episode of *Faust II*, which was published in 1826.

For our purposes, in connection with the passage quoted from *The Double Book*, the most interesting remark in Chatzís' lecture on Moravcsik is: "The two young people's meeting takes place in the Peloponnese and Goethe, who loved painting, made a sketch of the meeting which we still have. Behind the two young people looms a mediaeval city which Moravcsik (like Schmitt) assumes without

any doubt to be the present-day necropolis of Mystrás, where the Mediaeval world meets the Renaissance, and that is exactly what Goethe meant to symbolise with his encounter between the knight Faust and the classical Helen." (Chatzís 1975, 37-8, my italics)¹

In the passage quoted from *The Double Book* only the union of the New Age (τῶν Νέων Καίρων) is mentioned; but of course this term implies a reference to a preceding period, i.e. the Middle Ages, a period preceded in its turn by the 'Old Age', i.e. Antiquity. In the passage quoted above from Chatzís' lecture on Moravcsik, this division into periods is clearly stated; at the same time the concepts of Byzantium (Mystrás) and the Middle Ages are indirectly equated. This link, however indirect it may seem at first, establishes the presence of Byzantium in *The Double Book*.

Byzantium — especially *Byzance après Byzance* — is certainly mentioned quite literally in Chatzís' non-literary work, i.e. his philological studies on the Modern Greek tradition and in lectures, papers, interviews etc., in which he has expressed his views on the Modern Greek situation and ideology since 1974.

What did Byzantium and the Middle Ages mean to the philologist, literary and cultural historian, social critic and intellectual in the broadest sense who Chatzís was in his non-literary work?² And how did he assimilate this vision of Greek reality into his stories and novels, particularly *The Double Book*?

In all his essays Chatzís speaks emphatically of a Modern Greek tradition, literature, etc. as a separate entity, to be strictly distinguished from the preceding Greek traditions of Antiquity and — specifically — of Byzantium. This Modern Greek tradition evolved in the course of the twelfth century, as a distinct antithesis to Byzantium, i.e. the Middle Ages.

The Greek Middle Ages were feudal, aristocratic, theocratic and supranational in character. There was a sharp cultural dichotomy; on the one hand there was a scholarly culture, with its own scholarly language (Byzantine Atticism), on the other hand there was the culture of the common people, who had their own vernacular (the Koinè); however, this common culture was in fact driven underground by the dominant scholarly culture. In the rest of Europe this sort of cultural and linguistic dichotomy was one of the chief characteristics of a Mediaeval society, as it is even today in the Middle East, which Chatzís considered still Mediaeval. Chatzís saw a definite connection between this sort of cultural and linguistic dichotomy and Mediaeval social structure and ideology.

The Modern Greek tradition includes everything which broke with the Mediaeval, Byzantine tradition, especially by orientation towards a Modern Greek nation (ἔθνος, rather than the Byzantine, religiously defined γένος) and use of

¹ It is not clear to what extent Chatzís really examined all the aspects of the interpretation of Goethe's Helen episode, but that is not directly relevant here; the passage I have italicized gives a very abbreviated form of the interpretation which was important to him and which he was to use soon afterwards in *The Double Book*.

² A detailed account, with references, of Chatzís' views, is included in the present writer's dissertation on Modern Greek tradition and ideology in the work of Chatzís (Hokwerda 1991; see also Hokwerda 1992).

the vernacular, which was in fact already Modern Greek, though in an unperfected form. This is what should really have been the beginning of the Greek, i.e. the Modern Greek, Renaissance; whereas the Renaissance had put an end to the Middle Ages everywhere else in Europe, it did not succeed in breaking through in the Greek world, where it was limited to various attempts and false starts. This is true of the period up to 1453, but also of the centuries thereafter: just as the Modern Greek Renaissance tradition, if it exists at all, goes back to the twelfth century, on the other hand the Byzantine Middle Ages also continued to exist for centuries within the Ottoman empire, which was in a way a continuation of the Byzantine empire under foreign domination: the Ottoman Empire was also feudal, aristocratic, theocratic and supranational in society and ideology.

The reason why the Greek Renaissance did not develop fully is that there was scarcely any Greek bourgeoisie to act as a social vehicle for such a movement. Wherever such a class did exist in the Greek world (i.e. in areas under Venetian rule) there was in fact a Renaissance development, stimulated by contacts with the West, with Europe, for Chatzís always a shining example. Chatzís' way of thinking leaves no room for the claim that the Renaissance in Greece was merely an imported product. The Classical — i.e. Greek — heritage only really came into its own in Humanism, Renaissance and Enlightenment, in the form of humanistic, liberal, democratic ideas and social structures; and since the right social conditions for such a Renaissance movement were not present in the Greek world, outside stimulus was indispensable.

The Modern Greek tradition should by rights have been a bourgeois, 'urban',³ tradition; it should not be confused with the Greek *folk* tradition, which had existed underground for centuries in the Byzantine era and was to reach its prime in the Ottoman era. This folk tradition was closely bound up with the closed, rural community of which it was a product and existed alongside of the Byzantine scholarly tradition, the other Mediaeval tradition of the Greek world. As we have seen, such a dichotomy between two traditions may be regarded as characteristic of a Mediaeval culture and society.

The most important attempt at effecting a Modern Greek Renaissance took place in the second half of the eighteenth century, when there was evidence of a Greek Enlightenment which had its sources in the rising Greek middle class. One could argue that it was as a result of the national ideology connected with this movement that the new Greek national state eventually emerged, but in actual fact the Greek middle class was ideologically and culturally defeated by the Mediaeval, scholarly tradition (the Phanariots). This went back to the great Byzantine heritage, in which the classical heritage had been incorporated and transformed; its ideology is expressed in a nutshell in the slogan 'The Greece of Christian Hellenes', in which *Hellenes* refers to Antiquity and *Christian* to Byzantium: 'Ελλάς 'Ελλήνων Χριστιανῶν. This ideology was a scourge to Greece until far into the twentieth-century, right up, in fact, till 1974; it prevented the emergence of a true national *Modern Greek* ideology. The linguistic counter-

part of this Mediaeval ideology was the artificial, archaistic *katharévousa*, which would not be abolished until 1976.

We may conclude that according to Chatzís the Greek Renaissance had not yet been completed. It was not until the twentieth century that Greece could look forward to a completion of her own Renaissance and then in a socialistic form; for Chatzís this was a logical progression from the bourgeois-liberal-democratic form of society which had emerged from the European Renaissance and had reached its acme in the nineteenth century, but which was no longer suitable for a modern twentieth-century society. In Chatzís' view this new attempt at a Renaissance reached its acme during the German Occupation, in the struggle of the EAM and ELAS, which Chatzís regarded not merely as a resistance struggle against foreign domination but more specifically as a struggle against Mediaeval forces and towards a Modern Greek Renaissance, in a socialistic sense. In fact, this struggle against foreign domination was a natural consequence of the struggle against Mediaeval forces; the Mediaeval opponents had never really had their own *national* ideology and had always turned readily to foreign rulers. However, this struggle ended in a failure in the forties, both through mistakes and short-sightedness on the part of the left itself and through a new variety of foreign domination (American), which the Greek Mediaeval forces, yet again, welcomed with open arms to help them check the Renaissance.

It was only after the dictatorship of the colonels, in 1974, that there was at last a possibility of 'democratic change', by which Chatzís means not so much that the undemocratic steps taken by the colonels were reversed as that at long last the Mediaeval ('Byzantine') society could be abolished and, as a first step, a bourgeois-liberal-democratic society could be instated. Chatzís thought that this would eventually lead to a socialistic society, but first a completely new leftist party would have to be created; Chatzís no longer had any sympathy at all with the old, dogmatic left, which was still in the clutches of the Greek past as it had been in the forties, nor with vague Euro-communistic movements. If Chatzís thought in the forties that it might be possible for Greece to progress from a Mediaeval society to a bourgeois society and thence almost immediately to a socialistic society, the second progression was now expressed in vaguer terms, as something which might be postponed more or less indefinitely: now, i.e. after 1974, it was more important to establish a liberal-bourgeois-democratic society, to 'catch up' with the rest of Europe. In Chatzís' view this too was ultimately a necessary *Vorstufe* for the progression to a socialistic society which he considered desirable, but it was also valuable in itself, because it meant a definitive break with the Middle Ages.

Chatzís clung resolutely to the line of the Greek Enlightenment, with or without what he regarded as its logical consequence in the form of a socialistic ideology. He was absolutely opposed to the populist trend which was dominant in Greece after 1974. One Mediaeval ideology, that of 'Greece of Christian Hellenes' had led to the fiasco of 1967-74. It was understandable that many people, in a reaction to that fiasco, turned to the other Mediaeval tradition, i.e. that of folk culture (which, as we saw, also had its origins in Byzantium but reached its prime in the Ottoman period), but this was just as much a return to the grip of

3 The Greek word αστικός combines the two concepts *bourgeois* and *urban*.

the Middle Ages. Besides, a return to that Greek folk culture is out of the question, simply because the closed, rural society on which it was based is a thing of the past. Chatzís had no sympathy with the populist tendencies he encountered when he returned to Greece in 1974. These tendencies were opposed to Western influence, and essentially opposed to a Modern Greek Renaissance and Modern Greek Enlightenment. Neither, of course, did he have any sympathy with the related 'neo-orthodox' movement, which propagates a return to Byzantine orthodox values and which also resists Western influence; terms like Renaissance and Enlightenment are treated with the greatest contempt in such circles. To Chatzís' horror, not only populism but even, to a certain extent, neo-orthodox ideas were being accepted by a large proportion of the traditional leftist movement in Greece, no matter how inconsistent these ideas were with true marxist views, which in fact had their origins in the Enlightenment.

What Greece really needed, according to Chatzís, was a new Modern Greek Enlightenment, which would complete the half-finished work of the Greek Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, on the basis of a truly democratic, national, modern Greek ideology. Traditional elements are welcome in as far as they have something to offer to Greece's progress towards the future, but any attempt to return to the past is fundamentally wrong.

The line of thought set out above is a summary of various essays, articles, interviews etc. by Chatzís in the period 1947 to 1981. One of the most striking features of all this work is the consistency of his views throughout all those years; again and again he repeats the same arguments, sometimes almost literally, in the same historical and social framework, always made relevant to the various phenomena, aspects, persons, periods or details which form the subject matter at hand.

In that same period his small prose oeuvre has earned him an important place in Modern Greek literature. To what extent do the themes of his literary work correspond to the views he has expressed elsewhere (and which were summarized above) on the Greek tradition? In other words: what is the role of the Middle Ages, and of Byzantium, in Chatzís' literary work?⁴

The setting of the novel *Fire* (Φωτιά, 1946) is the Greek resistance during the German occupation, mainly in the Greek countryside. But this book, Chatzís' debut as a prose writer and not of the same quality as his later works, is not simply a resistance novel full of heroics; nor is it a 'rural' novel in the tradition of the Greek 'genre' story (ηθογραφία). The central theme of the book is the personal development of the main character, the young Avyeriní, who breaks away from the traditional rural community with its patriarchal ideology and learns to think for herself. In Chatzís' system of concepts, as sketched above, this means that she has left the Mediaeval society and has entered the New Age, and of course he sees this (in 1946) completely in the framework of an evolution

⁴ The three works most relevant to our topic will be discussed here. Chatzís has also published: *The Defenceless* (Ανυπεράσπιστοι, short stories, 1964), *Studies* (Σπουδές, short stories, 1976), and *Service* (Θητεία, 'fighting texts' from the forties, 1979).

towards a socialistic society; so the period and the world of the Greek resistance during World War II were, to him, a natural setting for this theme.

In the short story collection *The End of Our Small Town* (Το τέλος της μικρής μας πόλης, 1953/1963) the small town which forms the common background of all the stories also stands for traditional pre-war Greek society; in Chatzís' terms, a Mediaeval society. This small town, this community with its ideology, is brought to an end by the social developments of the modern era: industrialization, increase in scale, a new order of production. In the first version (1953) this development towards the modern era was directly linked to the leftist resistance movement during World War II and seemed destined to result in a socialistic society, which Chatzís regarded as the crowning glory of the Renaissance. In the second, definitive and more generally known version (1963), the Resistance and World War II still constitute factors which, along with industrialization and similar developments, are putting an end to traditional society, but no clear ideological connection is made. There are still references to a better society in the future, especially in 'The Teacher's Will' and 'Margaríta Perdikári', but there is no specific ideological definition in the text itself.

The novel *The Double Book* (1976) consists of four sets of two chapters and a final chapter. The first, third, fifth and seventh chapters and part of the final chapter comprise one book: the 'German' book, the book of the future; the second, fourth, sixth and eighth chapters and again part of the final chapter comprise the other book: the 'Greek' book, the book of the past. The final chapter speaks of both 'books' and attempts to show the connection between them. The main characters are Kostas and his sister Anastasía, and the Writer, who appears as a character in the book. Within the book, the Writer is searching for 'Greekness' (το ρομέικο) in the modern world, and intends to make a book out of it. He does not manage this in the 'Greek book', because the Greek world it describes clings to the past and is dying out; in fact, the true 'end of our small town' takes place in *The Double Book*. Anastasía had had dreams of a new and better world — the birds and the plaits are a reference to it — but had resigned herself to living in that Greek world of the past, so that she really 'died' (in a spiritual sense). Only Kostas had managed to cut himself completely free from the Greek past ('murdered' it) and had entered the modern world by going to Germany. This is the true meaning of his departure for Germany: since in Greece itself the modern world had not yet come into existence, or at least not to such an extent that Chatzís could contrast the two worlds sharply enough for his novel, he has Kostas leave for Germany.⁵ In this new world the Writer also has great difficulty in writing his book about Greekness in the modern era; essentially, the only thing he can do is help Kostas to survive in it and to write his own book. That second book — the book of the modern world — also remains incomplete in *The Double Book*; it is no more than a sketch for the book which should have been written. This is because there is no clarity as yet about the new world and the future of

⁵ *The Double Book* is often regarded as being mainly about 'foreign labourers'. This is not a correct assessment of its themes and Chatzís regretted the misunderstanding. I say more about this in the dissertation mentioned earlier.

Greece; there are only vague notions of hope. However, this hope is distinctly present at the conclusion of *The Double Book*.

After these lengthy clarifications it is now time to return to the passages from the eighth and ninth chapters quoted at the beginning of this article, the story of the disappearance of the Writer at the Eurotas and the reference to Faust's encounter with Helen.

Useless poet, defeated with us. Anastasia addresses these words to the Writer ('poet'), who is useless because as a writer he should not be occupied with the past, and who has been defeated along with Anastasia's generation because the whole generation has had to live under the shadow of the past and of the Greek Civil War. The ideals and dreams of a better world which Anastasia has also had are symbolised in *The Double Book* by the birds she had sometimes heard fluttering, but which she murdered by getting stuck in the past. The plaits, which she cut off as being *useless*, have the same background in the book; they also belong to the past. The *greatest reward* spoken of is meant ironically; it is useless, and is given for *our book* (of the past), which you didn't write, could not write.

The second passage, from the final chapter, describes how the Writer walks from Molai to the Eurotas, the river along which Goethe's Helen walked to Sparta/Mystras. *He had been thinking about it for many years*: the Writer is of course a character in the novel and must not be equated with Chatzis himself; nevertheless, there is a certain autobiographical element. The next passage is a short, symbolic summary of a theme which dominated Chatzis' way of thinking from World War II onwards, explicitly in his non-literary work, but also, in a more veiled way, in his novels and short stories: the persistence of the Middle Ages in Greece and the incomplete Renaissance. Goethe had located the 'union', the 'unification' (ζευγώμα, 'coupling') of Faust and Helen by the Eurotas, in Mystras; in Chatzis' interpretation this refers to the *glorious union of the New Age* (Renaissance) as it emerged from the 'coupling' of the Middle Ages (Faust) and Antiquity (Helen). But Greece herself, the place Goethe chose to locate this union, had remained outside this New Age: *Everything at a standstill in desolation*, the desolation of death, the same death as Anastasia's. The Writer of this book (of the Greek half of the *The Double Book*) has nothing left to say: he has become bitter and silent, has died with Anastasia, and the only union he now has to look forward to is union with death, with the death of his art (*his art is dying*). This is again symbolized by Anastasia's plaits, which he had taken with him and which are now being scattered by the wind: *The end*. Then the Writer himself, this Writer, apparently disappeared into thin air, leaving his book — the 'Greek' book he had intended to write — unfinished; he had left some fragments of it with Anastasia.

But this was not the end of the *whole* Writer. Towards the end of the book we learn that the Writer had written some notes including the following information about the persons in the Greek half of the book: "(...) they have all gone, taking their times and their country with them. As I have said before, I could have stopped too. Remained silent. Disappeared with them. With the Greece which is disappearing with them" (Chatzis 1976, 202). So according to his own words the

Writer has not disappeared altogether, and that has to do with the other half of *The Double Book*. True, that book also has Greece as its starting-point: "But it goes further than that, just as life goes on further than they do" (*ib.*), i.e. in modern society as it is represented in *The Double Book* by Stuttgart, the city to which Kostas goes as a 'foreign labourer'.

The darker side of that new, modern world is also fully emphasized: "That second book is also a book of loneliness — the book of your [Kostas'] loneliness, without place, without time — where you are now, thrown away, and where I too have ended up. Our old heritage is no help to you at all, there is no dream about tomorrow" (*ib.* 203). The Writer has ended up with Kostas in modern society, and no matter what is wrong with it and no matter how little help and advice the Writer can offer: it is clear from the end of the Writer's notes that it can only be by a passage through this new world that any hope for the future can exist. Only on the other side of that world can any 'new human society — of our world, the present-day world' emerge: "The book of hope, that is what this second book, your book, should be. Of hope for the present-day world, our own world, which you do not see yet, cannot know yet — and which you do not fear. For human life — which carries on." In the last paragraph of the book the Writer, who had vanished mysteriously in the first book, suddenly turns up again, large as life, in Stuttgart, in the midst of all the noise of the modern, industrialized world: the honking of car horns, the shriek of factory hooters, the grating of winches, the huff and puff of locomotives. In the midst of this pandemonium of modern society, of the New Age, the Writer's words about hope for and through the modern world are clearly audible. Writing, too, is pointless unless it is about the modern world and the future.

"And if it's a little bit about Greece too — well, why not?" In an ironic, casual way, but certainly with very serious intentions these final words connect the themes of *The Double Book* with Greece, the Greek situation and the task of the Greek writer. Goethe located the unification of the Middle Ages and Antiquity and the beginning of the New Age in Greece; in *The Double Book* Chatzis reverses the roles⁶ and has the unification of the Middle Ages (traditional Greece in his eyes) and the New Age take place in Western Europe, and more specifically in Goethe's own Germany, but with the intention that through this union the New Age should emerge at long last for Mediaeval Greece. And that, finally, Byzantium would fall for the very last time.

6 It is impossible to say with certainty whether or not Chatzis' reversal of Goethe's situation was deliberate. He makes no definite, concrete references to Goethe's Helen episode. At the most one could point to Anastasia's birds, which could be a reference to the swans on the Eurotas, or to the mysterious disappearance of the Writer and his reappearance in Stuttgart, which could be regarded as a parallel to Faust's mysterious transportation; but in *The Double Book* this is all very vague. However, there is another salient point: in earlier versions of the Helen episode, Goethe located Faust's meeting with Helen in a castle on the Rhine (not so far away from Chatzis' Stuttgart in *The Double Book*); it was only through the influence of the Greek War of Independence — which should have been a Greek Renaissance but from Chatzis' point of view got stuck half way — that Goethe, inspired by the passage in Dorotheos of Monemvasia, moved the scene to Greece (this piece of information was also mentioned by Moravcsik).

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AN EMANCIPATED WOMAN IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Marietta Ioannidou

Writing has perhaps been one of the areas of expression in which women in the past have suffered the most restrictions. By the act of writing, therefore, women challenged what had been an exclusively male domain and refuted woman's traditional restriction to the realms of private life. To write means first and foremost to have and to express the desire to communicate with people — and one cannot find many people within the four walls of a house.

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, women in Greece were demanding, sometimes aggressively, sometimes defensively, recognition of their equality, both professional and intellectual. Their presence in the written word was starting to become noticeable and, even more importantly, from 1887 on women could boast of their own journalistic organ, the *Ladies' Daily Newspaper*. This was the first women's paper that managed to avoid being as short-lived as previous attempts, being published for over thirty years.

The founder and manager of the newspaper, Kalliroi Parren-Siganou (1861-1940), together with the editors made the *Ladies' Daily* a forum for shaping a new collective identity for women and a means of defending their interests as a social group (Varika 1987, 205). In this article I shall first make a brief description of the circumstances under which Greek women authors were living at the turn of the century and I shall sketch the plot of Parren's first novel, *The Emancipated Woman*, unknown to today's readers.¹ After that I shall attempt to give the topographic complex of the novel in order to describe the role of nineteenth-century Istanbul (Constantinople) in the development of the plot. The glorious city, with its numerous Byzantine monuments and the various nationalities that constituted

1 There are a few copies of the first (and only) edition of 1900 to be found in major Greek libraries, but these are barely accessible to the public; they may not be taken out of the library and only a few pages may be copied at a time.

the population of the city in that period (a real mosaic of peoples and religions), is intensely present in the novel as a background for all the contradictions and collisions of characters and ideas that figure in the book.

Greek women authors at the turn of the century

The end of the nineteenth century was a period when one victory for women followed another, although things were not as easy as we might think. The principal male bastions were not going to be taken without a battle. This was the context in 1896 for the conflict between Emmanuel Roidis, author of *Pope Joan* and an important critic, and the Greek Women Writers, especially Parren. In this conflict, Roidis was expressing not only his own opinion on the subject, but also the ruling views at that period. Many other writers, men and women, took part in this conflict with articles in newspapers and literary periodicals.

Most of the men recognised women's right to write, as long as they stayed within the bounds of their gender. Woman's nature was to be clearly declared in every piece of their writing: "Women writers are not to transform themselves into men, but should restrict themselves to the attributes of their sex, delicacy, grace, elegance, sensitivity, or even cunning" (Roidis 1896 [1978, 121]). The moment women overstep the limits of their gender, they must become ridiculous; this is confirmed by a Chinese saying often quoted by Roidis: "If the hen starts crowing like a cock, kill it straight away" (*ibid.*).

'Understanding', then, was shown by men for those women who persisted in writing, as long as they left the stamp of their sex on their every sentence: simple, sweet, without any deep searching and above all inoffensive. The 'creative' male eye, intruding in between women and the blank sheet of paper, adjured them to "Write, women, write as you knit, sew and embroider. Write embroideries or embroider novels. It's all the same ..." (in the journal *Ευρυδική*, Jan. 30, 1872).

Parren's answer was to join swords. She berates Roidis in the same terms as he uses. Her male colleagues write in astonishment: "A woman can develop all the virtues and all the vices of a man!" In a series of articles which Parren published under the title "One year's life; letters of an Athenian woman to a Parisian woman, 1896-1897", she writes that the feminism propounded in the columns of her newspaper is adapted to the conditions of Greek society: "We don't demand the vote, nor do we ask for any formal privileges from the state, or notable positions or rank. Our claim is this: that women may earn their bread through honest and respectable labour, given the fact that at the moment, any woman unable to marry due to lack of a dowry is in danger of starving to death". Roidis's answer is categorical: "There are only two professions for women; housewifery and prostitution" (Roidis 1896 [1978, 234]).

Out of this 'polemic' atmosphere was born Parren's first novel, *The Emancipated Woman*, published in Athens in 1900. This was the second feminist novel in Modern Greek Literature, the first being Z. Ypandremenou's *Zinovia* (*Zenobia*, 1870; see Ioannidou 1987, 225). Parren did not restrict herself to articles in the *Ladies' Daily*, but decided to work on literary writing too because she be-

lieved that literary ideology reflects and confirms the social ideology of the time, and that novels in particular are, in that way, the 'opium of the people'. At that time, men dominated the literary scene and Parren was naturally against the situation as it stood, whereby women were not allowed to have their own consciousness and existence beyond that dictated to them by men.

Through her literary work, Parren wanted to create another reality for women, a reality in which man was not the rule and woman 'the other', and she hoped that this new reality would find a wider social response. She tried to create a model for a different woman, who would not need to identify with others but would dare to have her own will, her own personality, to be herself. In her trilogy (*The Emancipated Woman, Witch, New Contract*), Parren, it seems to me, wanted to prove that literature did not have to be exclusively androcentric, as it had been up to then. For this reason, she wrote books in which the patriarchal ideology did not dominate, but which focused on the experiences and feelings of women, and which therefore, one could say, are gynocentric literary texts. In this way, women readers 'could hear' the voice and ideas of other women, a factor of great importance in view of the fact that up to then they had been taught to think like men, to identify with the male point of view and to "accept as normal and legitimate a male system of values, one of the main principles of which was misogyny" (Fetterly 1978, 20).

The Plot of "The Emancipated Woman"

The 'point of view' in the novel *The Emancipated Woman* is that of an external narrator, an anonymous person who does not participate in the plot. In this case, however, the narrator is obviously to be identified with the author.

By the 'plot' of a novel I mean "a series of events linked logically and chronologically and which are instigated, or made to cease to exist, by the actions of the fictional characters involved and acting in the book" (Bal 1986, 13).

An 'event' I take to be a change in the circumstances of the fictional characters and/or a change in the relations between two of the characters actively involved which has consequences for the unfolding of the story. The narrator's comments on the events are not discussed in this paper.

The numbering of the pages referred to below is in accordance with the first edition of the novel published by *Vivlia tis Avyis* ('Dawn Books'; Parren 1900).

A young woman returns home to her room late one rainy November night and immediately writes a letter to her friend announcing that two hours earlier she has married a man whom she had recently met on a journey. Nobody knows anything about this marriage and she has resolved to keep it a secret and to continue to live alone, separate from her husband, whom she describes as a "handsome young man, witty and pleasant", just such as she had dreamed of. The name of the woman is Maria Myrtou (pp. 10-5).

Her partner, Kostas Memidof, also returns to his home, where he finds his mother and sisters, who have just come home from a party. He answers their

questions as to where he has been with an "At a wedding ..., at an unhappy wedding, to which only I was invited" (p. 19). While talking with his mother, Mrs Memidof, the young man stresses that he is a man and free to do as he pleases, not as others please (p. 23). The young man meets his wife the next day and they go by carriage to Galata, on a honeymoon trip. They stay at the country house of a rich Ottoman lady. The same day, Kostas's mother, together with her daughters, tries to find a way to marry her son off to a rich widow, so that the latter's wealth can swell her daughters' dowries and hence improve their chances of making good matches. Moreover, she hopes that through this she can succeed in distancing her son from the Athenian painter, Maria Myrtou, with whom she suspects her son is in love (p. 72).

Kostas returns home, where his wedding ring falls out of his pocket as he is undressing. His mother learns his secret and, in spite of her disappointment, pretends to be happy for him and expresses a wish to meet Maria (pp. 122-3). Mother and son go to the country house where the newly-weds are spending the first days of their marriage. Mrs Memidof gives Maria an expensive gift of a piece of jewelry and Maria, pleased at this meeting with her mother-in-law, starts to paint her portrait.

The days pass happily for the two young people at the country retreat, though not without some disappointment and clashes between them, due to Maria's ideas on emancipation and Kostas's traditional way of thinking; Kostas is unable to understand his wife's attitude. Maria realises that her husband is egotistic and spoilt and is trying to subjugate her. She reacts strongly because she believes that even in a marriage a woman is entitled to some personal freedom and independence. It is evident that the completely different characters and convictions of each are endangering their relationship.

Returning to Istanbul after a few days, each goes home and they plan to go to Athens together to visit Maria's parents. Maria writes to tell her mother of her marriage and her planned visit with her husband (pp. 274-82). Having been invited by Mrs Memidof, and on the pretext of painting Kostas's grandmother's portrait, Maria visits the Memidofs' house and thus meets her husband's three sisters (p. 290). After the visit, the young couple go to Hagia Sophia, where Maria shows Kostas round; despite having been born and brought up in Istanbul, he has never been in the famous church before. Returning home, Kostas meets the beautiful young widow, Marie, who had been "his greatest and most passionate love" (p. 324). In his mind he begins to confuse the two women, Maria, his wife, and Marie, his lover. He feels himself to be deeply in love with both, but in completely different ways (p. 346). The two women, the wife and the lover, meet by chance at Kostas's home and Maria guesses what is happening in her husband's heart. She leaves to go home, refusing Kostas's escort. Some time later, she receives an envelope containing two love-letters from Kostas to Marie. In despair, she sends them to her husband with a letter of her own, telling him that it is better that she should go out of his life (p. 361). She gets ready hurriedly and leaves for Vienna by train, taking Anna, the maid of the house, with her and telling her landlady that she will return (p. 365). The love-letters had been sent to Maria by the eldest of Kostas's sisters in an attempt to get her brother to marry

the rich Marie (p. 369). Kostas receives his wife's letter and is furious, believing that Marie sent the letters to Maria. He wants to chase after Maria and ask her forgiveness but does not know where to find her (p. 374). His mother comforts him and a week after his wife's departure, Kostas resumes his relationship with Marie, without, however, ceasing in his attempts to find some trace of Maria. A few days later he receives a letter from her: she explains that she has left for both their sakes, since it was impossible for her to submit, and that she has gone to a distant place where she will be able to bring their child into the world, in the hope that this child may grow up in a more progressive society. She promises to inform him immediately of the child's birth, but begs him not to try to find her. So ends *The Emancipated Woman*.

Maria Myrtou, the central protagonist of the book, is a woman who has grown up in the traditional way that girls of (petit-)bourgeois society are brought up (as she herself says in the long letter she writes to her family telling them of her marriage [pp. 274-82]). She manages on her own, through her work, her determination and her courage, to become 'the Emancipated Woman', a very rare type of woman for the Greece of the period around the turn of the century and, in any case, completely unknown in the literature of that time.

I shall not refer here to the storm of reaction provoked by the publication of the book, nor to the fact that its publication sparked off the conflict between the critics, led by Emmanuel Roidis, and the "Greek writing ladies", as women writers were then called. What must be noted, however, is that Kalliroi Parren's name is not only absent from the histories of modern Greek literature, but also from the specialist studies devoted to the social novel. In their work relating to this period, Fotis Politis (Politis 1916), Hourmouzios (Hourmouzios 1979), Sachinis (Sachinis 1975), Karantonis (Karantonis 1977) refer to K. Theotokis and K. Chatzopoulos as the first to introduce the social novel to Greece — two (male) authors whose works were published at least ten years after *The Emancipated Woman*.² Parren is totally ignored.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the rural area in Greece was already undergoing many changes, while the development of Athens meant that the new social strata were making their presence felt. Naive 'ethography' ('genre' story) was giving way to the need for wider social synthesis. Writers turned from the short story to the novel. In accordance with Sachinis's definition that "the social novel attempts to put before the reader the external social fetters restricting man and preventing him from managing things as he wants and living his life happily" (Sachinis 1975, 179), I consider that Parren's novels, both *The Emancipated Woman* (1900) and *The Witch* (1901), clearly belong to this genre, and consequently that she is the pioneer not only of feminism but also of the social novel in Greece. Yiannis Papakostas proved in his study (Papakostas 1980) that Parren's friend, Alexandra Papadopoulou, from Istanbul, was the pioneer of the Greek social short story. Parren and Papadopoulou had the courage to draw on the soci-

2 K. Theotokis, *Η τιμή και το χρήμα* (1912) and K. Chatzopoulos, *Ο πύργος του ακροποτάμου* (1909).

ety of their period for their subjects, at a time when in Greece the 'genre' story had become an end in itself (Mitsakis 1977, 12) and, moreover, at a time when for a woman to write material for publication was considered an 'unforgivable sin' (Stavrou 1948, 1489). They dared to experiment in new literary fields with the result that they, and particularly Parren, came under the massed fire of the critics, who could not accept that a woman had the courage to come to grips with a new literary genre which demanded knowledge of society, and indeed to use it as a means of making a feminist statement.

There was no tradition in the social (nor of course in the feminist) novel or narrative on which these pioneer female writers could draw.³ If one adds to that the violent attack of the critics, it is not difficult to guess the consequences: their work was not recognised and finally fell into obscurity. This is a pattern that seems to have repeated itself frequently in the past and although the same can also be observed in the case of several male writers, whose work has never been included in the literary canon, research has shown that women were more easily affected by the 'adverse wind', which blew much harder for them. This was especially true for these pioneer women, who not only had the 'audacity' to write but also tried out their skills in new literary areas. It is for this reason, and this alone, I believe, that it is important that the works of these women be studied and brought into the light of day, even though to today's reader they may seem quite naive and the ideas they propound now generally accepted.

The role of location in "The Emancipated Woman"

The novel is characterized by many contradictions and very many contrasts, at every level. I will restrict myself here to referring only to the contrasts in the location and the relation between it, the events and the principal characters. The location in a text may operate in two ways: it may provide merely the setting, the scene of action, but in many cases "it becomes itself a subject. Rather than just the scene of action, the location can virtually become a 'scene that acts', influencing the story, and the story submits to the presence of the location" (Bal 1986, 104).

Istanbul at the end of the nineteenth century is the general setting for the story of *The Emancipated Woman*. In the period just before the Young Turks' Revolution of 1908, Istanbul reflected all the changes taking place on a wider scale in the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan was Abdulhamit II (1876-1909), whose long reign was characterised "by an autocratic administration and a return to Islamic ideas on one hand, and a continuation of change and reform based on Western models on the other" (Lewis 1961, 178). At that time, Istanbul and the surrounding area had approximately 860,000 inhabitants, of whom 44% were Moslems and 17.5% Greek Orthodox, 17% Armenians, 5.5% Jews, with some

other yet smaller minorities. This large proportion of 'foreigners' (i.e. non-Moslems) controlled the economic life of the city and contributed substantially to its Westernisation.

The Emancipated Woman opens one rainy night in November in the district of Pera. The couple descend from a carriage, say goodbye, and the woman enters a house while the man continues on his way by carriage. The woman goes carefully to the first floor and shuts herself in her room. The narrator describes in detail the furnishings of the room, which is decorated "simply, but comfortably and elegantly" (p. 7). We learn at the same time that the tenant is twenty-four years old, has been living there by herself for three years and came there from Rome, where she had studied painting, which was now her profession, and finally that only two hours earlier she had got married. This room is her kingdom; it is here that she paints and only here that she feels calm and safe and that she can be herself, without having to behave as others expect a woman to behave; here she can behave according to her own beliefs.

At the end of the novel, Maria Myrtou is again in this room by herself when she discovers that her husband is deceiving her with his former mistress and she decides to walk out of his life. She takes with her only what she needs and leaves her room as it is, assuring her landlady that she will return. (In *The Witch*, Parren's next novel, which constitutes a sequel to *The Emancipated Woman*, Kostas and Maria meet in Athens and return to Istanbul together, twenty years later). The room will bear the memory of her presence while she is away. Her tie with the room is more enduring than that with people; this room, with her pictures adorning it, genuinely belongs to her, a fact which becomes particularly important after her discovery of her husband's infidelity and the instability of his feelings.

Maria shuts herself up in her room, in her 'sanctuary', to think and to collect herself every time something important, pleasant or unpleasant, occurs in her life, and it is here that she feels she is regenerated (p. 266). This remains constant, in contrast to the events that follow on one after the other at great speed, and to the mood of the central characters, which is continually changing.

It is characteristic that Kostas does not have access to this place: Maria does not let him visit her there, even though he asks to come, and so only the flowers he sends her daily and his letters reach her room. Maria keeps her 'kingdom' closed and unknown to him, just as indeed her soul remains unknown and mysterious to Kostas. Maria 'confesses' her thoughts, her fears, her hopes, her happiness and sadness in the long letters she writes to her mother and to her friend in Athens. Through these letters we learn of her family and her past: how she grew up in a strict petit-bourgeois environment and how she managed to change into an emancipated woman who "knows what she wants and what she does... who does not recognise the right of others to order her future and her life according to their own aims and thoughts, according to society's demands, traditions and prejudices" (p. 10).

The narrator also describes Kostas's house and in particular his room. The contrast in the places the two young people live in symbolises the contrast in their way of life and attitude. Kostas Memidof, twenty-five years of age, studied Politi-

³ Perhaps the only exception was the novel *Margarita Stefa* by G. Xenopoulos, published in book form in 1906, but in serial form in 1893. (Psycharis's *To óνειρο του Γιώργη*, 1897, is a 'love story' or, according to K. Palamas, 'a novel of the Greek soul').

cal Science in Paris and Berlin, but in Istanbul he is out of work and lives with his parents and three younger sisters, in contrast to Maria, who lives alone and works for her living. His mother looks after him as if he were a child and her influence over him is enormous, even if he himself states "with a bearing that brooks no opposition, 'I am a man and free to do as I wish' " (p. 23). In fact, he is unable to make decisions by himself and wavers between his mother's Eastern mentality, which considers women to be creatures of a lower order, made to serve man, and his wife's ideas and belief in the equality of the sexes. The two women represent two different worlds: the old with its traditions of centuries and the new that has only just begun to take shape. Mrs Memidof has perfected her ability at lying and hypocrisy and exists as a woman by using these skills (whenever she is confronted by a difficult situation, she pretends to faint). Maria, in contrast, hates pretence, is honest, spontaneous and genuine.

Kostas tries to understand his wife's thinking but does not succeed. The strength of tradition, habit and his mother's influence over him prove destructive. This last factor in particular, his mother's influence over him, is conveyed pictorially to us in the description of Kostas's room: "The furnishings had no personality from which one might form an idea of the young man. It was the room of a spoilt child... On the dresser, instead of anything else that a man might be expected to use, sat a little basket of his mother's, containing thread, buttons, needles and pins" (pp. 34-5).

Maria goes to the Memidofs' house twice, but she never enters Kostas's room. This fact is not coincidental; it stresses the different worlds which the two spouses represent and the gap between these two worlds which, despite their marriage and physical union, the couple do not succeed in bridging. The true union of these two different worlds will only be realised in the next generation, the generation of Maria's and Kostas's son, who is born and grows up in America (Parren 1902-3).

The location where the newly married couple live together for a short while is the country house of a rich Ottoman friend of Maria's, in the region of Camlica, an expensive suburb of Istanbul. It is a two-storey house, "red and covered with green foliage, like a big bouquet of red roses or field poppies" and with a turret rising from the roof from which "the view of the Bosphorus and of Marmara was perhaps the most glorious view in the world" (p. 67). Maria feels almost as if she were at home because she had worked there for a whole year decorating the walls and ceilings. Kostas feels like a visitor; on the one hand he enjoys his wife's ministrations and demonstrations of love, but on the other he makes continual comparisons with the previous women he has loved. Maria's ideas on emancipation and equality between men and women make him admire her, but simultaneously he feels that deep down these ideas annoy him.

Maria's happiness is overshadowed by the pangs of guilt she feels with regard to keeping her marriage a secret from her family. "How will she tell them? What sadness it will cause to her parents and brothers and sisters... She married without them being there to see her, without them having the fuss and bustle of a wedding in the house, without even having eaten *koufeto*" (the sugared almonds tradi-

tionally eaten at weddings and sent to friends and relations not able to attend) (p. 110).

Kostas's and Maria's moods change incessantly as they try to bring into harmony the traditional views of marriage, mainly held by Kostas but which Maria was also brought up with, and the progressive views espoused by Maria. Just a word or a look from one is sufficient to inspire emotions of "deep melancholy" or "absolute joy" in the other (pp. 102-5) in a very short space of time.

This emotional instability is at its peak during Kostas's mother's visit, when Mrs Katingo Memidof goes to meet her daughter-in-law, concealing her anger and disappointment at her son's marriage. Accustomed to deceit, she treats Maria politely and kindly, and the latter begins to like her mother-in-law. Impressed by the beauty and the artistic talent of her daughter-in-law, Ma Katingo admires the luxurious house, which is decorated "in such a different style from her own aesthetic conceptions of decoration" (p. 139) and starts to wonder if she has been unjust in having such a bad opinion of her daughter-in-law. She is also impressed by Maria's sincerity and spontaneity. Such thoughts, however, only last as long as her visit to the villa. As soon as she returns home and sees her three daughters again, she is reminded that her son's marriage has lost them the opportunity of his marrying a wealthy woman, whose money could have gone to swell the dowries of Kostas's sisters. She has a nervous breakdown.

The effect of the environment on the mood of the characters and, by extension, on developments in the story is very strong, but the opposite also holds: the characters see the environment according to their mood at any given time. A good example of this is old Yiorgakis, Kostas's father, who was unimpressed by the beauties of Istanbul and in fact was given to saying, "Istanbul is like a painted woman. From a distance in the right light, she looks wonderful. Up close you can see the horrible wrinkles of old age, the rotten teeth and faded hair". When he falls in love with the widow Madame Marie, his mood changes completely. He wonders at the Bosphorus, "the little glistening white houses, the golden bell towers and minarets with shafts that seem covered with diamonds in the sun, with the green of the gardens and cemeteries in the background, and the blue of the sea and sky" (p. 169). Overwhelmed by the view, after living there for so many years, it is the first time he thinks, "To live in Istanbul and not to enjoy fully all this beauty, which foreigners come from the ends of the earth to see!" (p. 170).

The same sort of thing happens to his son, who visits the sights of Istanbul for the first time with Maria and because of her, pays attention to the boundless beauties of nature around the city, which up to then he had passed by in complete indifference.

For the first week of their stay at the country retreat, Kostas loves the paradise-like place. The view of Istanbul from the open windows and from the turret and the scent of the chrysanthemums make him drunk with happiness. He forms plans to buy the house and live there with Maria for the rest of their lives (p. 197).

In the second week, however, his enthusiasm wanes along with the effect that the surrounding nature has on him. Their first marital squabble is caused by Kostas refusing to go for a walk to a nearby wood, where Maria dearly wants to

go. In the end, he regrets his behaviour and they set out for a ride to Beylerbeyi, "the marble palace, which stood out from its endless, grand, green background and reflected the silvery waters of the Bosphorus" (p. 208). The history of the palace, which Sultan Abdul-Aziz had had decorated with the most valuable treasures to please his beloved Eugenie,⁴ whom he adored right up to his tragic death, makes Kostas start thinking: "He felt sorry because he did not know how to guess his wife's wishes, because he deprived her of enjoyment which cost him nothing in the end except a change in his habits" (p. 213). Kostas's idea to visit the seaside resort of 'Sweet Waters', at the end of the Golden Horn, is not a success. There is a pandemonium of women and children having fun, gipsy orchestras and songs, and a whole procession of harems led by grim-looking eunuchs.

Maria feels uncomfortable in the colourful mass of women "shooting fiery looks" in admiration of Kostas's distinct good looks. She feels her love threatened "amid so many pairs of beautiful eyes under white yashmaks" (p. 218), and the interest her husband shows in one of these women serves to increase her jealousy.

Maria only feels truly happy with Kostas and secure in their love when they are in closed, isolated places; in the carriage going to Beylerbeyi, and late in the evening on their way back to Camlica Maria "completely recovers her hopes and her love of life", while only just before she had been tortured by jealousy and the fear that some other woman might "take her adored husband". Again, in a deserted corner of the steamship taking them to Üsküdar (Skutari) and when they take a boat trip there by themselves, she "wanted to stay in the middle of the sea for as long as possible, alone, far from the world, because there she felt safe... Only there did she feel giddy with overflowing happiness, as if their complete union was achieved there, not in front of the priest in the country chapel" (p. 55).

Mrs Memidof's second visit in one week to the house at Camlica marks the end of the honeymoon of Kostas and Maria. Overhearing her husband and mother-in-law talking in the room next door, "so alike in looks, with the same principles and traditions and the longstanding habit of life together, Maria felt that a distance existed between her and them that would be impossible to overcome" (p. 255). All three leave Camlica, where the two young people "left a little of their soul and a lot of their happiness" (p. 261).

The last day the couple spend together is once again wet and foggy, just as it was on the day of their secret wedding, a few weeks earlier. Then they were at a country chapel at Sisli; on the last day of their brief conjugal life they visit Hagia Sophia. For Maria, it is her tenth visit, for Kostas his first. He prefers to stay in the courtyard beside Sultan Ahmet's fountain, but Maria persuades him to enter the church. She takes him to the ladies' balcony, hoping that the view from up there would help his soul and spirit to escape for a while from earthly things; Maria believes that the magnificence and beauty of the church can move even the hardest person.

⁴ Eugenie Maria de Montijo y de Guzman, empress of France, wife of Napoleon III. Abdül-Aziz (1830-1876), 32nd sultan of Turkey and the first to visit W. Europe in 1867. He probably committed suicide.

Kostas is impressed, listens with interest to Maria, and feels proud of his wife's knowledge about art (p. 331), but these emotions disappear as soon as they leave the church and return to the monotony of everyday life. The rain outside continues to fall, Maria wants to go home to finish a picture. "Leave me to my art for tomorrow, it too has rights....," she says to Kostas, and he, displeased, returns home where he meets Marie, his old love...

The charm exercised on the married couple by the magnificence of Hagia Sophia, that symbol of the glory and grandeur of Byzantium, has not been able to bridge the gap yawning between them. After this visit, their paths essentially part, but the memory of the church remains etched deep in their minds and hearts, and will 'unite' them all the years ahead when thousands of kilometres separate them. (It is to this place that they immediately go upon their return to Istanbul, many years later).

The intention of the authoress is clear: she chose Istanbul as the location for the action of her first novel, it being a city that focuses the dreams and hopes of Hellenism and simultaneously a city with a population of many nationalities, full of contrasts, where Eastern civilization meets Western in all manifestations of life. The description of indoor and outdoor locations serves to organise the semantic contrasts characterising the two forms of social life — the old traditional way and the new emancipated way — and the people representing them. In this city, the bridge between East and West, where harem-women walk in the streets or amuse themselves on the beach, there is, actually, no place for an emancipated woman in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The critic, Tellos Agras, once observed that "the modern Greek novel comes principally from Istanbul" (Agras 1934, 221), because many important writers started out from there. I would add that it is with Istanbul as the background that the first social-feminist novel of modern Greek literature was written: *The Emancipated Woman* by Kalliroi Parren.

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